











CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL  
**CHRONICLE**  
**1982**



# THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

*First Friend on the Roll:*  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

*Royal Patron:*  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER

*President:*

*Vice President:*

Patrons.

THE LORD CLARK OF SALTWOOD, C.H., K.C.B., F.B.A.  
THE LORD RAMSEY OF CANTERBURY, D.D.  
HENRY MOORE, ESQ., O.M., C.H., F.B.A., A.R.I.B.A.

*Chairman of the Council:*

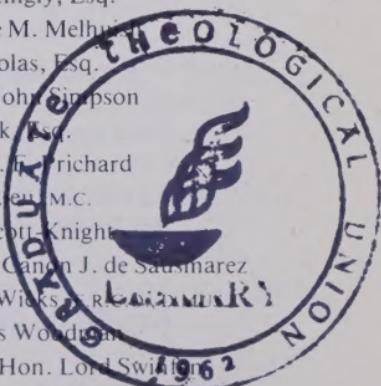
THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY (The Very Reverend Victor A. de Waal)

*Steward and Treasurer:*  
JOHN NICHOLAS, ESQ.

*Deputy Steward:*  
COLIN MATTINGLY, ESQ.

*Members of the Council:*

The Revd. Canon A. M. Allchin  
The Right Hon. Lord Astor of Hever  
The Mayor of Canterbury  
Mrs. Nancy Clifford  
Professor Patrick Collinson  
T. Tatton-Brown, Esq.  
The Revd. Canon D. Ingram Hill, F.S.A.  
Dr. Wendy Hughes-Jones  
The Rt. Rev. H. Isherwood  
David Kemp, Esq.  
Sir Dawnay Lemon, C.B.E., Q.P.M.  
Colin Dudley, Esq.



~~18.10.80~~  
~~982-86~~

9  
S

# THE CHRONICLE 1982

Published by The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral

BX  
5195

C3 NUMBER 76

APRIL 1982

A12  
no.76-

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
80 EDITORIAL	3
1982- R.I.P.	5
1986 NOTES AND NEWS	6
ILLUSTRATIONS	7
DEATHS OF FRIENDS, MARCH 1981/FEBRUARY 1982	8
THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND PATRONAGE OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS PAST AND PRESENT BY DEREK INGRAM HILL	10
A SERMON PREACHED IN THE CATHEDRAL BY GOTFRIED DANNEELS, ARCHBISHOP OF MALINES-BRUSSELS	14
FORTY YEARS ON BY LOIS LANG-SIMS	18
ARCHBISHOP SIMON OF SUDBURY AND THE PATRONAGE OF ARCHITECTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES BY JOHN HARVEY	22
CANTERBURY 1265 BY ANNE M. OAKLEY	33
SAINT THOMAS MORE—AN ADDRESS IN ST. DUNSTAN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY BY DR. GORDON RUPP	37
CANTERBURY'S CHORAL MANUSCRIPTS BY ROBERT FORD	43
CANTERBURY CANTATA BY MARK REES	48
BOOK REVIEW BY DEREK INGRAM HILL (Dr. Francis Woodman's <i>The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral</i> )	52

## EDITORIAL

From time to time I give myself the pleasure of taking down from my study shelves the collected Reports and Chronicles of the Friends from 1928 to the present day and browsing through them. It is possible in this way to gain an impression of Cathedral life and activity at any given period in the last century and this may well be something special to Canterbury since ours was the first organisation of Friends to be established in England, and from the first the Friends have issued regular printed bulletins of very high calibre. Those who peruse this *Chronicle* may not get the impression that the year which has run its course from Easter 1981 to Easter 1982 is one of the most outstanding in recent history—but they may well be wrong.

A record of what actually happened in the Cathedral world must take note of the great restoration of the bells culminating in the blessing of fourteen new ones by the Archbishop on our Festival Day in July, and giving a chance for a winter gathering of Friends to celebrate the first great ring of the new peal on the eve of All Saints Day.

Special events have included the commemoration of the tragic murder of Archbishop Simon of Sudbury in mid-June and later in the month a visit from the Queen Mother, our Patron, who attended Evensong sitting in the stall of the Vice Dean after a day in the King's School for the opening of a new boarding house in the Precincts.

Two new canons residentiary joined the Chapter during 1981—John de Saumarez who succeeds Canon Joseph Robinson (now Master of the Temple) as Treasurer and Master of the Fabric, and John Simpson who became Archdeacon of Canterbury in succession to Bernard Pawley (whose lamented death so soon after his resignation deprived the Church of England of a great ecumenical figure).

We welcome both these priests to our Council and are sure that they will render good service to it in years to come. Tim Tatton-Brown is another welcome newcomer to the Friends' Council, and it is a pleasure to have Mr. Colin Dudley with us once again.

Much has been accomplished in the restoration of stonework, stained glass and wall paintings. One of the Miracle windows just opposite the tomb of the Black Prince has just returned after some months in the workshop glowing like a mosaic of jewels, while one of our photographs in the centre of this number shows the restored vault of the Eastern Crypt Chapel of Jesus and Mary and another shows what has been done in recent years to beautify the lovely chapel of Our Lady and St. Benedict by the Martyrdom.

But it would be foolish not to recognise that a Cathedral which is thronged all through the year with pilgrims and tourists must provide for their needs in other than in spiritual or even aesthetic ways. So the last year has seen much planning and assembling of funds to carry out a number of projects long needed and overdue,

but all destined to be accomplished by the end of 1982. These include the complete renewal of the sound reinforcement system, not only to replace what is now worn out in the way of speakers, microphones, and so forth in nave and quire but to extend the system to the Crypt and the Western Transepts and Trinity Chapel where the present system has never operated. In the Precincts, new lavatories providing for the needs of men, women, and the disabled are being constructed in the old flint building called the Plumbery near the exterior of St. Anselm's Chapel, and a large lecture room known as 'Theodore of Tarsus' with additional lavatories and kitchen, which is part of the Old Palace, has been graciously made available to us by the Archbishop and we hope to use this for parties both of children and adults visiting the Cathedral, and functions involving the Cathedral Fellowship (thus taking the weight off the fine 'Wooster Room' in 11B The Precincts with its large bow window).

The Chapter Office has been extended since the beginning of this year 1982 to make life less crowded for the staff and plans are in hand for extending the premises of Cathedral Gifts Ltd. and for renewing in due course the Cathedral heating system (a very costly project indeed, it is feared).

Much of this would not be possible unless the Friends had been available to provide funds, including some very generous legacies from Friends of by-gone days, and the successful efforts of Mr. Samuel E. Belk III of Washington D.C. in setting up the Cathedral Trust in America and enrolling many new Friends there which is going to be of great value in the very near future.

As I write this editorial the forthcoming visit of His Holiness Pope John Paul to Canterbury on 29th May promises to eclipse every other great occasion in its high ecumenical import and historical significance as well as in the amount of publicity that it appears destined to attract. We hope to publish a full account of this (with photographs) in the 1983 *Chronicle* (which will otherwise be largely a commemoration of the centenary of the birth of our Founder, Bishop G. K. A. Bell).

We commend to all our Friends who may read this before the end of May the Papal visit, earnestly seeking their prayers that this event may forward greatly the Ecumenical Movement and hasten the Reunion of Christendom when and as God wills.

Finally, grateful thanks are again due to our contributors, some regular and well-known to *Chronicle* readers, others new and very welcome. All are listed on our Contents page. Acknowledgement and thanks also to the *Kentish Gazette* and to Mr. Ben May of Lee Russell Ltd. for photographs supplied.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

## R.I.P.

The last eighteen months have seen the lamented deaths of a number of devoted Friends. These, in addition to Lt.-Col. George Mount, a Vice-President of the Friends, and Lord Cornwallis, one of our Patrons, include Philip Johnson and Bernard Thurgood, stewards of the Cathedral, and Albert Scott, an assiduous attendant over many years at the annual summer festival day. Marjorie Spence, whose husband Horace was a Honorary Canon and a great enthusiast for the cause of church music, has now passed on to the better world to which he went in 1975, both leaving substantial legacies for the maintenance of the Cathedral music. Richard Paynter, who served the King's School as Second Master for years and altogether taught on the staff for some forty-five years, died after a short illness early in September. He and Archdeacon Pawley, who died on November 15th, were remarkable men and both are much missed and greatly mourned in the various fields in which they were active.

(An excellent picture of the Archdeacon appeared in the Cathedral newsletter for Summer, 1981.)

Other Friends of the Cathedral whose loss we record with regret are Professor Harold Williams, the distinguished historian, Mrs. Carmen Booth, Mrs. Vera Longstaffe, as well as Mrs. Marjorie Harris, beloved by many O.K.S. and one of the band of ladies who have kept the Cathedral well and beautifully decorated with flowers over many years, and Mrs. Marion Tilley, who helped for years with the Cathedral pilgrimages in the years when these were organised by Canon Julian Bickersteth and Fr. John Bouquet.

As we go to press we record with great sorrow the deaths of Colonel Raymond Grace who served the Buffs Regiment for many years and at the time of his death was President of the Queen's Own Buffs Regimental Association. He was a faithful Sunday communicant at the Cathedral; and finally, on February 25th, peacefully at her son's home, of Gladys Young at the age of 87. A Service of Thanksgiving for Gladys Young's life was held in the Cathedral on March 5th, attended by hundreds of her friends, and her ashes were afterwards interred in the Great Cloister beside those of her husband, Harold, who died thirteen years ago. Until very shortly before her death Gladys Young was giving regular and devoted voluntary service to the Friends' office where her loss will be especially strongly felt.

May all these Friends rest in peace in the perpetual light of God.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### YOUNG FRIENDS

As a result of a meeting held in 11A The Precincts on 1st December, at the initiative of Lord and Lady Swinfen of Wingham who are keen members of the Cathedral congregation, it was resolved to attempt to reform the Young Friends of the Cathedral again. Several young people have been gathered together to join in various enterprises such as climbing Bell Harry Tower and perhaps going on expeditions to places of interest in England and France. The subscription was set at 50p per year, there is to be no upper or lower age limit, and it was agreed that membership should be of individuals rather than of organisations. It is hoped that as the organisation develops Young Friends may be able to undertake some projects that may be of use to the Cathedral.

There are at present twenty Young Friends including two from France.

### BLACK AND WHITE CATHEDRAL PRINTS (12 in. × 8 in.)

A new set of five of these (four illustrated on page 7 and the fifth of the Friends' new office), reproduced at the centre spread of this *Chronicle*, is available from 11B The Precincts at £2.50 excluding postage. Friends' Ties and Membership Pins are also still available from the same address.

### A GENEROUS LEGACY

As we go to press news has come in of a very generous legacy to the Cathedral of some £126,000 from the estate of the late Stanley Masterton Slater who died in January this year. Mr. Slater was a physiotherapist as was his wife Florence, who died in 1979. Together Mr. and Mrs. Slater practised in Cliftonville soon after the First World War and later ran a very successful joint practice in London. They retired to Thanet in 1963, their final home being at Westbrook.

They had no children and at the time of his death Mr. Slater had no living relatives. He always wanted to leave his money to a cause which would still be in existence long after he had gone and as a regular visitor to the Cathedral he thought that nothing could be better than to leave his money to help maintain a structure so full of meaning, and so permanent a feature of our society. We must be most thankful that someone who has been described by those who knew him as a 'nice, ordinary, humorous man' should have chosen such a splendid way of helping the cathedral he loved in life, after his death.



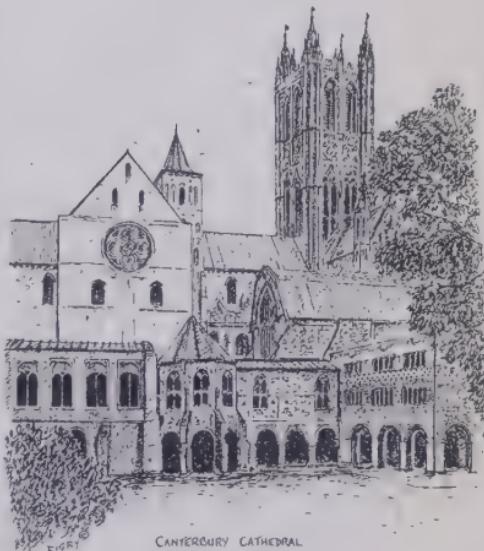
THE OLD PALACE - CANTERBURY



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL  
from St. Martin's Churchyard



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL  
The Corona from the ruins of the Abbey Infirmary



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL  
12<sup>th</sup> century WATER TOWER, CHAPTER HOUSE  
AND 'NEW' LIBRARY

## DEATHS OF FRIENDS

*Recorded with reverence and honour following notification received between March 1st, 1981 and February 28th, 1982.*

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Aldom, Mrs. A. E.            | Hugill, Mrs. D.              |
| Allen, Miss M. H.            | Inkson, Mrs. G. C.           |
| Andrew, Mrs. K. S.           | Jones, Mrs. W. G.            |
| Ash, Mrs. D. M.              | Juckles, Mr. R.              |
| Badcock, Mrs. J. D.          | Kearley, Miss E.             |
| Bethel, Mrs. L. K.           | Keeping, Miss M. I.          |
| Blake, The Revd. C. E.       | Killick, Miss S.             |
| Blunt, Miss G. M.            | King, Mrs. W. B.             |
| Booth, Mrs. J. H.            | Lake, Mr. E. J.              |
| Bowley, Mr. A. P.            | Limebear, Mr. R.             |
| Brade-Birks, The Revd. Canon | Long, Miss D. A. C.          |
| Briggs, Ms. K. M.            | Martin, The Revd. C. J. H.   |
| Broadhurst, Mr. S. W.        | Martin, Mr. H. S.            |
| Carr, Miss A. O.             | Martin, Mrs. S. A.           |
| Cassidi, Mrs. F. L.          | Mendel, Mr. S.               |
| Cornwallis, Lord             | Milward, Miss M. E.          |
| Cumberlege, Mr. G. F. J.     | Morton, Mr. G.               |
| Cutforth, Mrs. O. B.         | Mount, Lt.-Col. G. H.        |
| Drage, Miss E. M.            | Muriel, Miss C. W.           |
| Emerson, Mr. G. H.           | Nicholson, Mrs. P.           |
| Filson, Mr. W.               | Paice, Mrs. J. K.            |
| Geddes, Mrs. L. F.           | Pantin, Miss M. C.           |
| Gipson, Miss U. L.           | Patey, Mrs. G. J.            |
| Graham, Miss H. M.           | Pawley, The Ven. B.          |
| Grantham, Miss B.            | Paynter, Mr. J. R.           |
| Griffith, Miss M.            | Pennington, Miss A. E.       |
| Groom, Miss A. E.            | Roberts, Miss G.             |
| Dix Hamilton, Mr. D. L.      | Robertson, Mrs. G. F.        |
| Hare, Mrs. G. L.             | Rogers, Miss D.              |
| Harris, Mrs. J. B.           | Rowlinson, Mrs. E. J.        |
| Harvey, Miss S. M.           | Rudd, Miss I. E.             |
| Holden, Miss M.              | Russell, Miss L.             |
| Honeyball, Miss M.           | Sawbridge-Erle-Drax, Miss D. |
| Hope, Miss M. C. A.          | Shaw, Mrs. H. W.             |
| Howells, Mr. R. J.           | Sivley, The Revd. J. H.      |
| Hudson, Miss E. M.           | Smith, Miss E. A.            |

## **Deaths of Friends—continued**

Smith, Mrs. E. G.	Waite, Miss S.
South, Mr. C. P. B.	Wall, Mr. F.
Spiller, Mr. R. O.	Watkins, Mr. A. J.
Stapley, Deaconess C. G.	Watkins, Miss M. T. J.
Sykes, Miss J. M.	Webb, Mr. D. Marshall
Treble, Dr. H. A.	Whitehead, Mrs. M.
Turner, The Revd. E. C.	Wills, Miss E. A.
Usher, Miss V.	Young, Mrs. G.

*and regrettably omitted from the list published in the 1981 Chronicle:*

Johnson, Mr. P. K. W.  
Scott, Mr. A. E. W.  
Thurgood, Mr. B. A.

## THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND PATRONAGE OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS PAST AND PRESENT

All through its long history the Christian Church both in East and West has been responsible for commissioning buildings of great beauty and dignity both small and great for the gathering together of the people of God for His Divine Service. When the Church emerged from dark centuries of persecution and worship in hidden places like the Roman Catacombs this process began with great emperors like Constantine and Justinian who established grandiose churches and basilicas in the great centres of the Faith—Rome, Jerusalem, or Constantinople. It continued throughout the Middle Ages when multitudes of glorious cathedrals and abbeys as well as innumerable lovely parish churches sprang up all over Europe (all these furnished and adorned as well as local financial resources would permit) and it enjoyed a great revival in England in the Victorian enthusiasm for Gothic art with hundreds of churches (of varying quality artistically) being built in towns and cities which had expanded rapidly as a result of the Industrial Revolution and needed places of worship for their populations.

Despite the stringencies of the financial situation in recent years which has caused the closure and even the demolition of many churches in England and elsewhere the Church continues to be the patron of the arts and crafts in many fields, and as might be expected great cathedrals like Canterbury with their popular appeal and not inconsiderable resources have played an important part in continuing to encourage this aspect of the artistic life of the nation.

The placing in the Eastern Crypt recently of the fine mahogany altar of 1880 with its richly embroidered frontal, made for the Cathedral in the last years of the nineteenth century, reminds us of the high quality of much Victorian work; the years that followed and preceded the Second World War saw the Cathedral enriched with fine craftsmanship of our own time—notably the iron grilles in the Nave and the handsome carved stalls now in the Eastern Crypt together with the altar kneelers designed and worked by the Ladies' Guild at Washington Cathedral and the interesting altarpiece in St. Anselm's Chapel by Andros Mezaros (whose widow has recently presented to the Cathedral a set of stations of the Cross in the form of bronze medallions, to be seen in the Crypt exhibition area).

As a result of the appeal for restoration funds launched at the end of 1974 the Cathedral today is employing craftsfolk, both male and female, of considerable expertise in the long-term task of restoring stone work, stained glass and wall paintings like those in the Eastern Crypt (to be seen in one of our illustrations in this *Chronicle*).

Two major enterprises have now been completed—the restoration of the noble Willis organ by the firm of Noel Mander with the provision of a special section in the Nave the pipes of which are housed in a fine and decorative case, the gift of Lord Astor of Hever, our Seneschal, and the complete renovation of our bells, now twenty-one in number, which have given us a fine peal for change ringing and a worthy set of chimes for the clock as well as giving a new role to Great Dunstan whose majestic tones can be heard all over the city thrice daily calling the faithful to prayer, and restoring to Bell Harry his ancient task of sounding curfew nightly before the shutting of the gates of the Precincts at 9 p.m.

(One is reminded of the account of his visit given by Erasmus who was in Canterbury in the early years of the reign of Henry VIII and was impressed 'by the two immense (west) towers which seem to greet the traveller far off and which fill the neighbouring country far and wide with the wonderful booming of the bronze bells.' )

If the Cathedral is giving much encouragement to the ancient crafts in its work of restoration it has also for a number of years been patronising many fields of applied art, and a short account of some of the necessary ornaments and furniture presented or acquired for the liturgical worship of the Church and its general adornment may well be set down here.

To the large banner embroidered for the Friends by some of our own needlewomen may be added, in the field of fabrics, the fine set of copes for the Chapter and the cope and mitre for the Archbishop, the work of Beryl Deane. The Friends have now provided additional funds for the making of new vestments to be used at the Solemn Eucharist on Sundays and other festival occasions, and a festival set is being made by the Benedictine community at Turvey (formerly at Cockfosters), and a Lenten set by the East Kent Embroiderers' Guild.

Perhaps one day we may see the Cathedral as well equipped with vestments as it was in 1540 when the Convent possessed 250 copes of different colours and forty sets of eucharistic vestments.

A richly coloured tapestry, the work of Michael Halsey, given in memory of Canon Thomas Prichard, was hung on the east wall of the chapel of Our Lady and St. Benedict by the Martyrdom in Advent 1980 together with an altar table and lectern made by the carpenters of the Cathedral works staff.

As I write this article a splendid altar frontal designed by Joyce Conwy Evans (designer of a fine frontal for King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and of work for Glyndebourne opera house) is being made for the Corona Chapel of the Saints and Martyrs of our own time. This is in memory of Dr. Burges Bickersteth and the cost will be defrayed partly by his family and friends, and partly by the Friends of the Cathedral on whose Council he served for so many years. The candlesticks on this altar have been designed and made by Mr. Geoffrey Whiting, renowned for his work in the field of pottery.

The two decades after the War ended in 1945 saw not only the return of much ancient glass to its proper place but the appearance of the fine set of four windows by Bossanyi in the South Eastern transept, and a very brilliant window by the English artist Harry Stammers in honour of St. Anselm, looking down on the chapel which contains any mortal remains there may be of that great saint.

The 1970 Becket Festival was given a perfect commemoration by the placing of a fine statue of Our Lord, hands stretched out in welcome, to greet the visitors on arrival just inside the South West porch. This was carved by the Canterbury sculptor Mr. W. G. Day in afrarmosia, an African wood. His skill as a carver of monumental inscriptions and as a calligraphist can be seen in many parts of the Cathedral. The carving on the monumental plaque on the west wall of the Cloister recording the names of those whose cremated remains are interred in the Garth is the work of the well-known artist Ralph Beyer, while the plaque to be placed in the Cloister near the Library door in memory of Dr. William Urry will be the work of the Cambridge artist David Kindersley.

The sad theft last year of the lovely baroque statue of Our Lady which had stood for more than thirty years in the niche over her altar in the Undercroft led the Chapter to consider replacing this with a modern statue and this very important commission has been entrusted to Sister Concordia, a nun of the Benedictine Abbey of Minster in Thanet, who was responsible for the beautiful alabaster statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the chapel of Our Lady at Pew in Westminster Abbey placed there in 1971.

Another piece of her work in bronze can be seen in the niche on the north side of the altar of the chapel of Our Lady Martyrdom—a lovely figure of Our Lady and Child, given by the Ecumenical Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary to mark their annual conference in Canterbury in 1981 at Christ Church College.

One of the most interesting additions to the Cathedral furniture in recent years is the hanging pyx for reservation of the Blessed Sacrament and holy oil for the sick and dying, suspended from the vault of Our Lady Martyrdom, which was dedicated by the Archbishop before Evensong last November 15th. This is the work of Leslie Durbin the distinguished silversmith whose work can be seen in many English cathedrals, and is in memory of Canon Herbert Waddams.

Other silversmiths' work can be seen from the hands of Stuart Devlin (Cathedral Treasury) and Robert Welch the Cotswold artist (St. Gregory's Chapel).

Volumes might be written about the Canterbury plays written between the Wars, and just after the Second World War by Masefield, T. S. Eliot, Dorothy Sayers, Christopher Fry and others. We hope to publish a special article on this subject in the *Chronicle* next year.

Perhaps it will suffice to end this article by recalling the fact that much church music for performance in the Cathedral has been written in the last thirty years by composers as distinguished as

Edmund Rubbra, Alan Ridout, Herbert Howells as well as those who have had a place on the musical foundation like Sydney Campbell, Anthony Piccolo and Philip Moore.

From all this it may be seen that while the Cathedral authorities and the Council of the Friends are always concerned with the restoration of a great mediaeval building and its several parts, they are not unmindful of the ancient partnership between the Church and the Arts which this article should make clear is still a flourishing one in our own Cathedral Church.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

# A SERMON PREACHED IN THE CATHEDRAL

SUNDAY, MARCH 15th, 1981

BY GOTFRIED DANNEELS, ARCHBISHOP OF  
MALINES-BRUSSELS  
PRIMATE OF BELGIUM

*In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit:*

It is for me a great joy at the very beginning of my ministry as Primate of Belgium to address Christians so close to us, "Members", as Pope Paul the Sixth mentioned, "of our beloved Sister Church".

It is, as well, a privilege so to do in the presence of the leader of the World Wide Anglican Communion who has toiled so much for the unity of Christians, particularly with that other great branch of Catholicity: the Eastern Orthodox Church.

We also rejoice to be able to receive Your Grace in the near future in our country, which has such numerous links with yours since our independence 150 years ago, through the days of happiness and the tragical years of two world wars. So many young British men offered their lives, and sleep in the earth of Flanders near the place of my own birth.

But beyond this warm human relationship there is an unprecedented and unique spiritual link which unites the Church of England with the Church of Belgium. I wish to talk about this important matter later on.

*Your Grace, Very Reverend Dean, dear Brothers and Sisters in Jesus Christ:*

The outstanding beauty of the Anglican liturgy, which has remained so close to ours during the centuries and still more since Vatican II and your own new service book, the vernacular in use for the past four centuries allowing a much greater involvement of lay people, are matters of great interest to us. Your hymn book contains many written by Roman Catholics including, to mention only one name, John Henry, Cardinal Newman, one of the great gifts of the Holy Spirit to the Roman Church whose theological thought has meant so much for the "aggiornamento" of the Church of the See of Peter right up to the last Council.

However, beautiful as it is, liturgy is a human effort to sing the glory of God, as it is also an essential means to bring mankind nearer its Saviour Jesus, man and God.

The divinity of Christ has been challenged by many thinkers who claim to be Christians. I ask now what sense is there in the promise and hope which are provided by our faith in Him if these are not founded on the divine authority of His word.

Tensions are likely to exist in all great Christian bodies—and who would care so long as the corner stone of all faith and hope is maintained: Jesus Christ. He is the only one who has to be preached, as Paul says, and then it is the crucified Christ.

At all times people have been in need of inspiring leaders, and amongst those provided by man most have faded in the mist of oblivion, if not in the condemnation of those who were crushed by power or antagonistic ideology.

To quote the Jew, Flavius Joseph, "One man of wisdom—if it is fit to call Him a man, performed wonders; a master of mankind: this man was Christ, the servant". Let us now in these days of grace of Lent meditate on Christ Jesus.

In his time He gave a new dimension to human ideals, and for the first time 'Service' overruled 'Power'. Nobody ever knew greater poverty at his birth; nobody a more infamous and cruel death. The Lord Creator of the universe was born in the manure of a stable far from the beauty of the little crib we display with a good conscience at Christmas. The death on the cross was described by the prophet Isaiah 600 years before: "He had no majesty to draw our eyes, his form, disfigured, lost all likeness of a man, his beauty changed beyond human semblance, humbled by suffering, he was pierced for our transgressions".

Still, Isaiah in awe speaks of the destruction of this unspeakable beauty. No son of mankind ever was more beautiful, and this was right for the elected body of the Son of God. Moreover, He shared our toil, our thirst, our weariness. If He freely accepts death nevertheless the forceful power of the leader appears to everyone. This Son of the Carpenter rules on the precincts of the temple and *alone* chases those who desecrate the holy place. He commands, He preaches to the fascinated crowds: "Moses and the prophets told you, I tell you now . . ." It was the law now, the new and unique command of Love. Here is an answer to the anxieties of the world. The Nazarene—"Can anything good come from there?" they say—claims to be higher than Abraham and Jacob, the revered patriarchs of the people of God: "Before Abraham and Jacob were, I am".

Confusedly the amazed crowd acknowledge that this man could be the promised Messiah, that he actually is the Anointed to come and save. Through his death they discover that the promise overshadows all expectations, that this is not a new and more exceptional prophet but that all creative powers are used as if they were his own. He appeases the storm, nature submits to his orders, the law of numbers is by-passed, and he multiplies beyond any limit five loaves and two fishes. Human diseases are healed for good. Moreover, the essential privilege of the Creator, the giving of life as an image of God's own life, this privilege is his; and Lazarus is called back to life as a prefiguration of his own resurrection, the sign on which all faith and hope are founded. To quote Isaiah again: "Your redeemer is the Holy One of Israel who is called God of all the earth". A new world is originating in this central mystery of death and resurrection, a new command is given: "Love the Lord your God; love your neighbour as yourself". Everything hangs on these two commandments; they were to be passed and witnessed to the world, and this example was to be given in unity.

Enemies were to be loved, the hungry to receive food, those seeking justice to be satisfied, the peacemakers to be called the sons of God; what would be done to one of the weak and small would be done to the Master himself; no grey shades, but the word to be "Yes, yes" or "No, no"; not the rude, the arrogant and the powerful would possess the world, but those of gentle spirit would be salt and light for the world. What happened then? What did our forefathers do with the message? What are we making of it now?

It is not an easy matter. In this confrontation of our lives with the ideal of Christ remains the endeavour of traditional faithfulness as it is proposed by the church to her members: truthfulness, justice, love of one's neighbour. There is even the chapter XVII of St. John in which the Lord imposes, with no illusions of what will become of it, a very much overlooked command which is to disregard everything to maintain the unity of the people of God served by a united ministry. We were more anxious to keep our ways of life; or, as the Old Testament puts it: "You have made the law of God null and void out of respect for your traditions".

If the love of God has to be passed on to the world, we are in great need of a radical self-criticism, in which the regenerating power of the grace of God will be taken seriously. Before this, our liturgical changes, whatever their importance, are aesthetic recreations; even ecumenism is no more than comfortable talk because it is a surface operation without any deep involvement of every Christian man and woman in a revolutionary concern for the amendment of the conscience.

Christian life has too often been aiming at a selfish sense of security when the main problems were left untackled or covered by blessings, half measures or compromise and complicity with the easy-living society. The world expects from us, and would be eager to receive, proof that we are indeed together in the everlasting Christ: redeeming, restoring hope, proclaiming that God loves us all, that we are children of the Father, heirs of his kingdom. Unfortunately the given show is a ferocious struggle for more wealth instead of the sense of relatively investing in eternal values; for more power instead of self-denial and justice for all. And no Church is immune from some of those vices today as during the centuries of the past.

It is therefore comforting and inspiring that on this very earth "something is moving in this renowned and blessed spot for Christian Service", as the poet said. The first aim is indeed to replace God in the centre of society, to make Him known, to be living witnesses of his charity, and all Christians to do it together. This sort of impact was given by an undivided Church during the first centuries; it is what the world needs in its growth towards more community life. Open theology, modern pastoral methods, even without the splendour of the liturgy. Our concern and duty is to proclaim the King of the world to come through a living and united testimony to our Lord and God Jesus Christ. This is the real problem.

To Jesus Christ belongs the unifying centre and power for all Christian Churches, but also for mankind.

The mystical body of the Lord, torn to pieces—the lacerated seamless robe—tragic image which should be repaired and restored in its integrity. And this is everyone's concern—without conceding on essentials but with tolerance and a healthy pluralism.

To end what I had to say, I have to mention now that if the dialogue ever began, if it has given in the long run great results already and will lead, God willing, to important decisions, it is thanks to men inspired by the zeal to serve the indivisible Church not much more than fifty years ago. They had the saintly daring to break the taboos and to act with the spirit of love.

In 1925 my illustrious predecessor Cardinal Mercier, who chaired the "Malines Conversations", wrote to Your Grace's predecessor, the great Archbishop Randall Davidson: "We must meet and talk with open hearts face to face". The former's death soon after prevented him from fulfilling his wish; but his second successor, faithful to his pledge, was the guest of the great Catholic theologian Archbishop Ramsey, at Lambeth on the eve of Pentecost 1967. It was the first visit of a Roman prelate since the tragedy of our separation during the sixteenth century.

My own visit on this Lent Sunday, 15th March, has no other aim than to carry on with my predecessor's endeavour and to pursue the dialogue between our Churches through a warm personal contact at an historical point in time when the convergence appears to be both full of promise and yet more difficult.

What matters is that all Christians all over the world should feel concerned, whatever their church membership, about the disunity of our witnessing to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and should build up a universal wave of prayer ascending to the Throne of Grace to show the Lord that we have made our own his prayer at the last supper, that we are ready to show in one single voice to the world that Jesus Christ, God made man, alone answers man's anguish about his destiny.

## FORTY YEARS ON

It is a curious point, to which no one drew attention at the time, that Hitler chose the feast day of the ancient dedication of Canterbury Cathedral to launch a ferocious attack upon it. Forty years ago, during the night of Trinity Sunday, June 1st, 1942, the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Christ Church, was the target of one of the 'Baedaker' raids (as they were known at the time because they were aimed at the historic towns and buildings starred in the famous guidebook of that name). The gentleman we derisively called Lord Haw-Haw, who regularly addressed us from Berlin, had told us that the Germans would bomb Canterbury if the British bombed Cologne. That evening a report of the bombing of Cologne had been included in the news. But so fatalistic had we become that my mother and I exchanged a wry comment and promptly dismissed the matter from our thoughts. Our little house in the Precincts had already been shaken several times in a 'hit-and-run'. In September, 1940 the facade of the Deanery had been wrecked by a bomb exploding on the front doorstep while Dean Hewlett Johnson and his guests crouched in a cellar, the hugely solid walls of which were seen by them to move 'at least an inch'. The Crypt was in use as an air-raid shelter. Looming darkly through the blackout, Christ Church Gateway stayed open all night.

The night of June 1st was still and hot. The siren went at a quarter to one, followed almost immediately by the lugubrious blasts of 'Tugboat Annie', the local warning; but these dismal noises had become a part of our lives, seldom heralding an incident: 'one day' there would be another raid, but 'this time' it was just old Annie and one went back to sleep. That night, however, I happened to be wide awake; and so I heard a single enemy plane flying high overhead, and soon afterwards became uneasily aware that the room was getting light. The strangeness of a *light* actually coming through one's window out of the depths of the blackout is something impossible to convey to anyone who does not remember those abnormal times. I sat up in bed. Then I went to the window and looked out.

The Precincts were bathed from end to end in a rose-coloured radiance. Every stone of the Cathedral shimmered. The leaves of the trees twinkled as if in a fairytale pantomime, as the light swayed to and fro with a gentle rocking movement. It was coming from a slowly dropping flare. A few moments later, out of complete silence, the world seemed to burst. Windows crackled, door hinges broke, plaster rattled down in lumps. Against the background of a steady droning roar, the scream of bombs ripped against the heavier screams of engines as the bombers dived. Explosions cracked the sky and splintered the mind.

My mother and I spent the next hour and three-quarters in a cupboard among the brooms and mops. There was no let-up at all. The planes came in by turns, low diving almost (we were told after-

wards) to the level of Bell Harry tower. We could see each other's faces in the rollicking light of the fires that were raging outside. Afterwards we were to learn how members of the fire service had saved the Cathedral by continuously chucking fire bombs off the roof to burn themselves out on the grass. (The roof was criss-crossed with ladders to provide easy access from point to point.) From where we were, it was impossible to suppose that the Cathedral had not been hit. But then, in a momentary lull, we would hear the chiming of the clock: there was something wonderful in the fact that it did not hurry or lose a chime or seem to be at all put out. I felt as if the Cathedral itself were speaking to us in those notes.

At a quarter to three there was a lull which incredibly went on, until we realised that the planes were not going to come back. Mrs. Gill, the porter's wife, came running down the kitchen stairs calling to us to pack our things because the houses in our row might catch fire at any moment. I ran up to the front door, which was hanging on one of its hinges, and looked out. I had not known what to expect, but what I actually saw did quite literally stop my breath. It was still there. It had not been touched. And never before had I seen, never again would I see, it so beautiful as it was that night.

Only those who have lived near the Cathedral can know how its stones reflect every nuance of colour as the light changes from dawn to dusk. In moonlight and starlight it turns silver. That night, against a pitch black pall of smoke and behind a jewelled veil of dipping and sailing sparks, it was dyed blood red from end to end. The Precincts were ringed with fire. Several of its own houses were alight, and the glare was coming from Burgate Street and Palace Street and Broad Street. The air was filled with a steady mighty roar, and against this sound was another which was like the shaking together of many sheets of tin.

I dressed and went out to discover what had happened to my friends. I must have been the first person to walk through the Precincts after the planes had gone. (It must be hard for anyone who does not remember it to realise how very few people were actually living there at the time.) There was little or no danger by then, but an awesome strangeness: so great a noise and light, so devastating a mess of fallen branches, broken stones and rising dust. A bomb had ripped open the whole area of the Oaks; and here I turned aside, held captive by the spectacle of what had been an elegantly beautiful house surrendered to the fire. This was the house belonging to Canon Macnutt, who was mercifully absent. (No one in the Precincts had been injured, although at least eight of its total of fifteen high explosive bombs must have fallen that night.) The house was an open shell enclosing a vertical uprush of singing fire towering above the height of the roof. I stared and stared. It seemed like a reflection of the glory of God.

In the Green Court the largest crater I had ever seen gaped in my path. Beyond it was a roofless Forrens Gate. There were at that time three elderly sisters living in the Forrens with their small dog. All

four had emerged; and the three old ladies, dressing-gowned, with streaming hair, standing on the edge of the pit in that lurid light, so wondrously resembled the three witches in *Macbeth* that I could scarcely believe in them as the prim little trio of my previous acquaintance. I went to the edge of the pit and shouted against the background noise of the fire: 'Is everyone all right?'

'Yes,' came the reply, 'everyone's all right here.' And since I could not traverse the pit, with that I had to be content.

The next person I encountered in the Precincts was the Dean. As I got back to Number Four, he was coming through Christ Church Gate; and I have since wondered how he got there. The story goes that he went straight to the Palace after the raid, surprising a pyjamaed Archbishop who remarked: 'At least, Dean, *you* are properly dressed.' The Dean was invariably properly dressed, every button of his gaiters correctly done up. I suppose he had come out by the back gate, making a hazardous return to the Precincts through Palace Street. For once, his concerned greeting was unaccompanied by a smile. I went back into the house, where our first visitor was Precentor Joseph Poole. Joseph and his mother, having emerged from the Crypt to find their own house uninhabitable, were seeking shelter in ours which was merely strewn with broken glass. We settled Mrs. Poole on my mother's bed; and almost at once there was another visitor on our doorstep. This was Father Geoffrey Keable, rector of St. George's in the High Street. Geoffrey was smothered in ashes and dirt, and in his eyes there was a great pain; but his first words were of thankfulness that all the inhabitants of the burning lanes had been rescued without loss of life. That this was so was chiefly owing to his personal courage, as we afterwards learnt. Almost the whole of St. George's parish had gone, and with the parish its venerable church which only a few hours before had been lovingly adorned with an abundance of flowers for the feast. When his rescue-work in the lanes was done and he knew that everyone was safe, Father Geoffrey had made his way into the church and snatched the Blessed Sacrament from a tabernacle surrounded by fire and smoke.

As the dawn broke, I went out a second time. The fires were smouldering now and dying out; the air was laden with a fine dust and the acrid smell of burning brick. In the pale light I recognised, coming towards me, the most Trolloppian character of them all, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Canon Sopwith. As we passed one another, picking our way over the branches and the heaps of broken stones, the Archdeacon transferred his cane from his right to his left hand as he always did and, turning towards me a drawn exhausted countenance, bowed very slightly and raised his grimy hat. Neither of us spoke.

LOIS LANG-SIMS.

A few days later the Dean wrote the following letter<sup>1</sup> to Canon Shirley, in Cornwall with his evacuated school:

The Deanery,  
Canterbury.  
*5th June, 1942.*

My dear Shirley,

The Cathedral stands in a wilderness of desolation; Crum's house shattered, Macnutt's and Starr's House nothing but shells, the Library three-quarters destroyed, and a fearful desolation at the west end of the King's School Dining Hall, kitchens and classrooms. The whole of that little courtyard opposite the old school house a scene of indescribable havoc, and the school house itself badly shaken. The entrance to the Forrens and all the buildings around it terribly wrecked.

The Cathedral itself, though all the windows are blown out, stands up grand and unhurt, save for honourable scars here and there. The sun pours in everywhere; all the dark gloom has left the Chancel and Mrs. Ferguson's flowers give a triumphant blaze of colour. The whole thing is prophetic of the future to me.

As nearly all the town between Butchery Lane and the Regal Cinema has gone, Jennings the Printers have gone also. He has asked me if he could use the old school premises on which there was a tiny press once used by one of his employees as a temporary measure. This I felt sure you would agree to. I could not ask Berry because his place has gone.

Best wishes to you all,  
Yours ever,  
HEWLETT JOHNSON,  
*Dean of Canterbury.*

1. Quoted by kind permission of Mrs. Hewlett Johnson.

# ARCHBISHOP SIMON OF SUDSBURY AND THE PATRONAGE OF ARCHITECTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

*Based on a lecture delivered in the Nave of Canterbury Cathedral  
on Tuesday, 28th April, 1981.*

It is not for me to deliver a sermon to you, but I have adopted the traditional method of the old preachers by dividing my subject under three heads. Firstly, to say something about Simon Thebaud of Sudbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury whose horrifying murder by a revolutionary mob in 1381 we commemorate this year. Secondly, to discuss the patronage of art and architecture by bishops and archbishops in the Middle Ages. Thirdly, to call to mind the wonderful example of Archbishop Sudbury's activity as a patron of architecture: the Nave of Canterbury Cathedral in which we are now gathered.

Simon was a son, probably the eldest son, of Nigel and Sarah Thebaud or Theobald of Sudbury in Suffolk.<sup>1</sup> He was very likely born in their important house close to the west end of the old parish church of St. Gregory, at a date in or before 1318, since he was already an adult buying land at Sudbury in 1339.<sup>2</sup> Thus he was at least 63 when he died. His family was well off, since Nigel Thebaud was one of the chief wool merchants in Suffolk and in the 1330s and '40s appears in the Calendars of Close Rolls as buying and selling large quantities of wool and lending substantial sums to the King, Edward III.<sup>3</sup> Amounts of £20 sterling and upwards are mentioned, and as we shall see later, this may well have implied a purchasing power of between £10,000 and £15,000 at the present day. Simon's father was, in fact, one of the new mercantile class upon which Edward III relied very largely for the economic basis of his first campaign in what was to become the Hundred Years War. That appalling war was to overshadow the whole of Simon's life and, indirectly, led to his murder.

Simon Thebaud undoubtedly had a very good education, and his father was able to send him abroad to study. By 1344 he held the degree of Doctor of Civil Law of the University of Paris, which he almost certainly must have obtained before the effective outbreak of war in 1336-37. He entered the service of the papacy, by 1349 was an auditor of causes in the papal court at Avignon, and became a chaplain to Pope Innocent VI (1352-62) who in 1356 sent him to England as nuncio to Edward III. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the story of his promotion in the Church, but it is of considerable interest that he and his two younger brothers: John Thebaud and Thomas Thebaud of Sudbury, held the prebend of Henstridge in Wells Cathedral one after the other.<sup>4</sup> When Simon gave it up on his appointment as Bishop of London in 1361, it passed to his brother John; and ten years later, John exchanged it with Thomas, who stayed at Wells for the rest of his life, becoming Dean by 1384 and dying in 1396.<sup>5</sup>

The substantial revenues of the bishopric of London enabled Simon to begin his career as a public benefactor and patron of art. With his brother John he bought land at Sudbury next to their old home, and on the combined site founded and built a college of chaplains who were to celebrate masses daily, including the special intention for the souls of Nigel and Sarah Thebaud.<sup>6</sup> A considerable part of St. Gregory's church was rebuilt, and the north aisle bears the heraldic talbot hound from the Thebaud coat of arms, a clear sign that the family had reached the gentry; the Chapel of All Souls was added to the church as the burial place of Simon's parents. While this work was in progress, in 1375, he was elevated to the see of Canterbury.

During the time that Simon was Bishop of London he began to take a prominent place in public affairs. He was respected and admired as one of the wisest and most learned men of his time, not merely in England, but in the whole of western Christendom. The country had need of wise heads, for the illusory triumphs of Crecy and Poitiers, and the Peace of Bretigny of 1360, had given place to the uneasy realisation that the costly war had not been won, and that both England and France were bleeding to death.<sup>7</sup> Earnest, though vain, efforts were made to reach a permanent settlement, and Bishop Simon was one of the chief negotiators along with the Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, in 1364, 1365, and 1373. In thus appearing as one of the leaders of the 'peace party', Sudbury undoubtedly made powerful enemies among the body of the great baronial Establishment which was determined upon continuing the war until France lay prostrate.

Simon of Sudbury has been described as 'learned, eloquent, and liberal'. That he was deeply learned we already know; in both Latin and English, and presumably also in French, he was a moving speaker; but it was as a liberal mind in an age of heresy-hunting that he earned the hatred of religious fanatics. Sudbury, in spirit centuries in advance of his time, has never won the praise that was his due: in his own time and since he has suffered from a bad press. The revolutionary Left saw him as a persecuting tyrant; the established Right could not forgive him for seeking and ensuing peace; but the bitterest feelings were aroused by outspoken advocacy of true religion. In 1370 a great pilgrimage to Canterbury marked the fourth Jubilee of Becket's martyrdom, and a plenary indulgence was promised to those who reached the shrine. Sudbury, still Bishop of London, fell in with a party of pilgrims whose behaviour seems to have been more suited to a Cook's Tour than to serious religion. He warned the party against supposing that any indulgence could avail them, even that of the Canterbury Jubilee, unless they truly repented of their sins. Such plain speaking from one having authority led to the real hatred which thenceforward pursued Sudbury, and cast a blight over his reputation.

When Simon Thebaud became Archbishop in the summer of 1375, the state of the country was critical. Edward III, prematurely aged and disappointed of his dream of reigning over a recovered

and enlarged Angevin realm, had come to depend upon his dearly loved son, Edward the Black Prince. But the Prince, ever since his amazing foray into Spain in 1367, had been a slowly dying man. To help his friend Don Pedro, the King of Castile, against the rebellion of his bastard brother, he had led an English army from Bordeaux through the passes of the Pyrenees in midwinter, a feat compared by military historians with Hannibal's crossing of the Alps in classical antiquity. The battle of Nájera was fought and won, but political delays in Spain until the heat of summer allowed the Prince to become infected by a fatal germ, probably the amoeba of dysentery. English and, in all probability, European history were drastically changed as a result.

At the centre of this tragedy in the Court at Westminster there occurred a strange series of events which throw further light on Sudbury's liberal and humane character. The controversial Dame Alice Perrers, accused of undue influence over the old king, was further alleged to have as her confessor a Dominican friar who acted as a 'magician' on her behalf. He was said to have special knowledge of herbs and poisons, and to add heresy to the strongest suspicions of the black art. The friar was arrested and sent before the Archbishop with the recommendation that he be burnt at the stake for the crimes of which he had not been convicted. Simon of Sudbury, however, was neither an unjust judge nor a religious fanatic: he remitted the friar to the care of the Dominican Order, leaving it to them to discover the facts and deal with their member accordingly.<sup>8</sup> Those who thirsted for blood were foiled, and never forgave the primate.

The Black Prince died on Trinity Sunday, 8th June, 1376, but his body lay in state at Westminster for nearly four months until the funeral on Michaelmas Day, when the cortège was followed by the whole Court and the members of both Houses of Parliament to its destination here in Canterbury. The prince's body was laid in the tomb prepared under the terms of his will, and the burial was conducted by the Archbishop in person.<sup>9</sup> In the following year the old king died and, four weeks later on 16th July, 1377, his grandson Richard II was crowned king in Westminster Abbey by Simon of Sudbury, a ceremony which marked the peak of his career as a churchman. It was at about the same time that the work of demolition began on the old tottering Norman nave at Canterbury, built in a hurry for Lanfranc within ten years or so of the Norman Conquest. The decision to make a clean sweep and to rebuild from the foundations, though approved by the priory of Christchurch, seems to have been due to the personal initiative of Simon of Sudbury.

The Archbishop was not concerned with his cathedral alone; but also played a leading part in the building of the West Gate and the northern defences of the city of Canterbury.<sup>10</sup> By this time he was certainly in touch with the king's chief master mason, Henry Yeveley, chief architect of the royal works and, as we shall see later on, it was Yeveley who provided the designs both for the new nave

of the cathedral and for the military fortifications. Besides providing the energetic initiative to get these great works under way, Sudbury was prepared to subsidize the nave out of his own pocket to the amount of 3,000 marks or £2,000 sterling, something equivalent in terms of building costs, to about 1¼ million pounds of our money. In his archiepiscopal capacity he also granted an indulgence of 40 days to those contributing to the funds, ordering the whole diocese to promote gifts and bequests to the work and, very wisely, providing that nothing given to this fund should be subverted to other uses.<sup>11</sup> The text of the document, issued at his manor of Oftord on 17th December, 1378, has long been in print,<sup>12</sup> but for sentiment's sake I went recently to Lambeth Palace Library to read the original text, copied into Sudbury's register by one of his clerks at the very time.

The final scenes of the archbishop's career, and of his life, were imminent. The very life of England was under threat from within as from without. Although the great West Gate might stand as a successful defence against a lightning invasion by the French, taking the city in the rear from a beach-head near Whitstable, this would do little or nothing to preserve the nation from bankruptcy. The whirlwind engendered by the madness of the war had still to be reaped. Simon Thebaud was not found wanting: at a time of crisis, in January 1380, he accepted the Great Seal, becoming Chancellor for the last eighteen months of his life. He was, in fact though not in name, prime minister to a boy king still too young to govern for himself. We cannot doubt that the thought of raising fresh taxation was repugnant to Sudbury; yet he saw that it was inescapable. With great moral courage he introduced the expedient of a Poll Tax on all adults in the Parliament held at Northampton in November. As we all know, it was the universal incidence of this tax that led directly to the Peasants' Revolt. Simon of Sudbury, wisely learned and profoundly humane, can only have been appalled at the thought of placing fresh burdens on those least fitted to bear them; but it was, as the king's chief servant, his bounden duty. He carried the new taxation through Parliament and so ensured his own death.

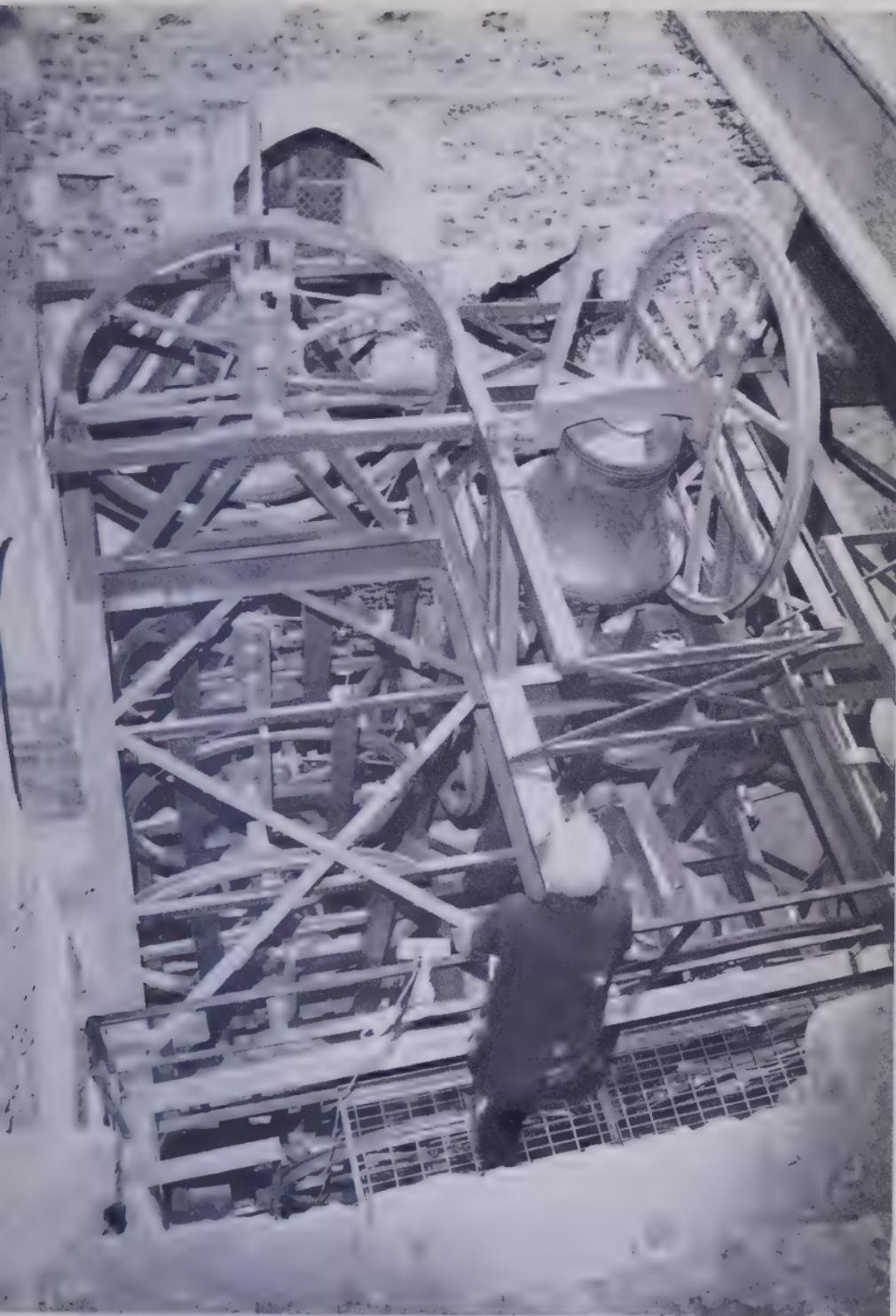
It is not my purpose to give an account of the great revolt, but it is worth remarking that the Archbishop, though on two occasions compelled to have John Ball arrested for his seditious and inflammatory preaching, treated him with leniency. No objective historian could for one moment regard him as a persecutor or a tyrant. Courageously, he accepted the highest office in his country's hour of need; courageously, he introduced a violently unpopular tax which was essential if bankruptcy were to be staved off; courageously, in the last day of his life he surrendered the Great Seal in order to avoid smirching his sovereign with his own unpopularity. It is indeed probable that Richard II survived the meeting with the rebels at Mile End precisely because it was known that he had accepted the resignation of his hated minister. We must not think of Simon Thebaud as a weak man in any sense: in spite of posterity's lack of recognition, he was a true hero and a true saint.

when he met his terrifying end. As we know, his dead body was brought to rest in his tomb in the cathedral; his severed head was taken to his own church of St. Gregory's at Sudbury, where it has ever since been kept, and where I have seen it myself.

It is time to move on to the theme of the patronage of art and architecture in the Middle Ages. The first thing to remember, so far as concerns architecture, is the large scale of building operations compared with most other works done in the period. It was emphasised by the late Professor Douglas Knoop and Dr. G. P. Jones, in their great book *The Mediaeval Mason*, originally published in 1933, that building was the oldest of the large-scale industries.<sup>13</sup> To put up castles, palaces and the greater churches and cathedrals required not only vast stocks of material and great numbers of skilled and unskilled men, with the money to pay for them, but also an immensely intricate organisation demanding forethought and planning in advance. The detailed design of one of the larger cathedrals or abbey churches involved not merely geometrical precision in regard to the shaping of stones or timbers to take their places in an immense jigsaw puzzle, but also the preparation of timetables for the ordering of supplies and the taking on of men. The biggest difference of all between building and most other occupations, was the sheer amount of money required.

At an earlier stage I remarked that a sum of say £2,000 in Sudbury's time might, in paying for building works, mean something like £1½ million now. There is no simple formula for arriving at a factor by which we can multiply the money of a given date, valid 'across the board'. But within the limited field of building costs it is possible to reach figures which make sense so long as they are regarded, not as an exact equivalent, but as supplying us with an approximate mental picture. Many economic historians have worked on the available figures, but the most useful basis is that provided in 1934 by Dr. G. G. Coulton.<sup>14</sup> He showed, by many different trains of evidence, that sums of money spent in the half-century before the Black Death, the great plague of 1348-49, had to be multiplied by a factor of about 40; whereas, in the 50 years from 1350 to 1400, inflation reduced this to some four-fifths, i.e., to a factor of 32. Independent calculations, made before and after Coulton's study, show that these are sound as working approximations.<sup>15</sup> We then have to multiply these factors to bring them up to date from 1934 to, in this case, 1981. Without going into detail, I shall simply state that the result is a further multiplier of 20: that means, that we have to multiply by 800 in the case of the money of the first half of Archbishop Sudbury's life, and by 640 after the Black Death. Once we have reached these working approximations, rough and ready as they may be, we can form some idea of the magnitude of the financial problem involved in building a cathedral, or even one important part of it, a choir, a tower, or a nave.

It is obvious that, at any period, few individuals can command any large proportion of the total sums needed. During the Middle



*The new bells hanging in the South West Tower*



*The Chapel of Jesus and Mary in the Eastern Crypt  
(showing painted vault, Victorian Altar and Frontal)*



*Dedication of hanging Pyx in Chapel of Our Lady Martyrdom*



Ages, when most industry apart from building was on a very small scale, the number of wealthy patrons was relatively even less. Kings, and a few princes and great nobles, might have funds on the right scale, but they generally had many other calls upon their cash, to carry on government and the administration of their landed estates which provided much of the money there was. In fact, many of the early cathedrals and greater churches were of royal foundation, because when they were first built, nobody but the king could possibly have found the ready money to pay the men and buy the materials. As time went on, one particular class took on special significance as patrons, namely the bishops and archbishops. This was because, unlike monks and friars, they were not vowed to poverty, and so could amass money as a private possession. Yet on the other hand, their vow of celibacy meant that they did not have a family of their own children to support: hence many of them had a substantial surplus of unexpended wealth available for worthy purposes: the founding of hospitals for the sick or the poor, colleges of religion and education, or chantries for the benefit of their own souls and those of their parents, kinsmen, and friends.

All these forms of philanthropy were practised by mediaeval bishops, but it was only natural that the support of their own diocesan cathedral should rank high in the category of potential objects of their alms deeds. All the ancient cathedrals of England received, at one time or another, massive financial assistance from their diocesans. This does not mean, of course, that any one cathedral, or the whole of any one major work, such as the Canterbury nave, was given outright by an archbishop or bishop. There was always room for private charity towards building works: collections for the purpose were promoted, gifts and bequests solicited; in a monastic cathedral such as Canterbury, the conventual priory could be depended upon to find some part of the funds. Nonetheless, it was often the initiative taken by the bishop that played the leading part.<sup>16</sup>

While admitting the help given by others, we can say without gross exaggeration that the Norman Canterbury was built by Lanfranc; the Norman York by Thomas of Bayeux; Durham by a succession of great bishops-palatine, William of St. Carilef, Ranulf Flambard, and Hugh Puiset. Exeter was mainly built through the efforts of five bishops in succession one after another for a hundred years. Lincoln was first built by Remigius, later by St. Hugh and by several more; Norwich by Herbert de Losinga and Everard of Calne; Rochester by Gundulf, the great builder bishop of the time of the Conquest, and then by Ernulf who had been prior at Canterbury and a noted builder before becoming Bishop of Rochester. At Old Sarum almost everything was due to three bishops: Hermann before 1068, Osmund before 1092, and Roger between 1107 and 1139; the new cathedral at Salisbury, begun in 1220, was mainly indebted to Richard Poore. Wells was launched by Reginald FitzJocelyn, Winchester by Walkelin, Worcester by Wulfstan.

In a few cases there are records of actual sums spent, or contributed by individual bishops from their own funds. As we already know, Sudbury gave £2,000 to the nave, and his executors a further £100; his successor Archbishop Courtenay another £670, which may be reckoned as nearly half a million. Bishop Hotham of Ely gave to the new choir of the 1330s over £2,000; Stapledon at least £1,800 to the choir at Exeter; Archbishop Thoresby of York made various contributions to the Minster fabric, but especially to the Lady Chapel at the east end, on which between 1361 and 1372 he spent £2,400, something like £1½ million today. The actual half-yearly instalments are all duly recorded in his audited accounts.<sup>17</sup> Among the most detailed records are those concerning William of Wykeham, Sudbury's contemporary as Bishop of Winchester, likewise Chancellor of England, and in any case already a vast spender on the building of his two great colleges at Oxford and at Winchester. Robert Heete, Wykeham's biographer, had access to his accounts, and tells us that the bishop spent upon Winchester College up to its occupation in 1394 a total of £1,014, which cannot have been much more than half of the total cost to final completion in 1404 just before the Founder's death. Beyond this, and the still greater outlay at Oxford, Wykeham left in his will £2,000 (3,000 marks) to the nave of Winchester, over and above great sums spent in the ten years 1394-1403. Of his bequest, 2,500 marks was left for the structural work, and 500 marks for the glass windows.<sup>18</sup>

In a remarkable study published some ten years ago, Sir William Hayter detailed the whole career of Wykeham as a patron of the arts, not of architecture alone.<sup>19</sup> Abandoning the outworn theory of Wykeham as an architect, he showed how vitally important his role was in promoting various kinds of art. Jewellery and vestments, favourite objects of episcopal expenditure, could swallow up very large sums. In Wykeham's case it is evident, from signs of economy practised in his later building works, that money was running short even though he was the wealthiest bishop of his time. Yet we know that much earlier, when money had a still higher value (probably a factor of × 1,000), Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Eveque of York not only built a new choir at the Minster, but made a single donation of £1,000 (say £1 million) to the suffragan cathedral at Ripon.<sup>20</sup> Hugh de Northwold in 1235-52 provided Ely with a new choir at a cost of £5,350,<sup>21</sup> which can be taken as roughly £5 million.

To avoid misunderstanding, it has to be emphasised that there is no evidence at all to suggest that any bishops, or for that matter any other patrons of mediaeval works of art, acted as their own architects or designers. There are very many explicit written orders for work to be done, given by King Henry III and registered in the Liberate Rolls, now in print; but apart from the naming of subjects for wall-paintings and the like, the orders do not contain specifications necessary for actual design or for technical execution. The fact is that, until the end of the Middle Ages, both design and methods of construction were secrets most jealously guarded from

those outside the crafts concerned, notably those of the stonemasons and carpenters. Only very rarely did a man who was possessed of these secrets by pupilage or apprenticeship turn to the Church in later life and take holy orders or, alternatively, enter a monastic order as a lay brother. Elaborate theories of monastic and clerical responsibility for art and for the building of the greater churches have received wide currency; but so far as they have any grain of truth it resides merely in these few rare and exceptional cases.<sup>22</sup>

So it is that we have to turn to the great master craftsmen of the age if we wish to discover the artists whose creative ability was responsible for the form taken by each work. In many instances the name of the master is unknown, but this is fortunately not so in regard to the author of the famous nave of Canterbury Cathedral. The architect was Henry Yeveley, chief master mason to the Crown from 1360 until his death in 1400; and he was not only in charge at the Cathedral, but also at the work on the West Gate and city walls of Canterbury. Like other mediaeval architects, he designed works of many different kinds: churches and cathedrals, abbeys, colleges, palaces, castles, gates and walled fortifications. Owing to his official position, much is on record concerning Yeveley's career, and a substantial biography—an article, not a book—was written of him over a century ago. By the time that I came to write my own book on Yeveley and his work, published in 1944, most of the important facts of his career and architectural responsibility were known, but many details of his life and the many properties that he owned have since come to light.<sup>23</sup> He is by far the best documented of all English architects who lived before the middle of the sixteenth century, and what is of special importance is that, from the start of his official work for Edward III in 1360, he was formally described as the 'deviser'—designer—of the king's works.<sup>24</sup>

There was, apparently, one limitation to Yeveley's sphere of architectural influence: he had no control over what was being built at Windsor Castle, where his colleague William Wynford was in charge until the old king's death in 1377. Thereafter Wynford was mainly employed by the bishop of Winchester, William of Wykeham, on his two educational establishments at Oxford and Winchester, and on the reconstructed nave of Winchester Cathedral which I have mentioned before. Yeveley, however, had a free hand elsewhere at the royal castles and other official works, and was also appointed to give advice on other matters, such as town walls, that touched upon the defence of the realm. Since it was Archbishop Sudbury who was in charge of the works of the walls and West Gate from 1378, it may be that it was in this connection that he first came in contact with Yeveley. It is, however, more likely that as bishop of London he had known him, or his works, years before. Yeveley had taken up the freedom of the City of London in 1353, and only three years later was reckoned one of the principal freestone masons of London. He then worked for the Black Prince at his palace of Kennington, close to Lambeth; then

from 1360 for the king, and at latest by 1362 for Westminster Abbey. From 1361 onwards he was buying property in the City of London. By 1376 he was renting a London property from Christchurch Priory for 5s. a year,<sup>25</sup> perhaps £150 now or £3 a week.

Besides all this, Yeveley was leasing property from St. Paul's on which he had workshops before the revolt of 1381, and later on was to rebuild the main front of the south transept of the old cathedral. Other work took him into Kent, where he was building Cobham College about 1370 and had by 1380 begun Cowling Castle for Lord Cobham, a member of the king's great council. The links with the archbishop who was also the king's first minister are obvious, and provide an adequate background for the supposition that Yeveley was consulted in an architectural capacity as soon as Sudbury had determined on the complete replacement of the Norman nave by one of up-to-date style. The manifest stylistic arguments for the attribution to Yeveley have been discussed elsewhere, but they receive confirmation from the massive payment to him of debts due for the new work, of £110 in the year 1379-80,<sup>26</sup> a sum which may be put at £70,000 of our money. Much later, in 1396 towards the completion of the nave, there is another recorded sum of £90 due to Master Henry Yeveley for stone and lead which he had supplied, at a time when the staff included 20 masons, 3 setters of stone, and 4 labourers. Finally, in 1398, Yeveley received a Christmas livery as one of the Esquires of the Prior of Christchurch, the great Thomas Chillenden who so ably finished what Sudbury had begun.

It would be impossible briefly to attempt an aesthetic assessment of this great cathedral nave. It is, all the same, possible to see at a glance some of its manifest beauties. Its grand proportions, although necessarily limited by its insertion between the ancient central and western towers, hardly need emphasising. Though the actual height had to be kept within bounds, the appearance of height was enhanced by a subtle scaling down of the size of the bosses in the vault and the thickness of its ribs. The upward thrust of the shafts of the compound pillars, with their mouldings so closely akin to those used by Yeveley at Westminster Abbey, was restrained by the horizontal rings at intervals; and the whole composition is bound together by the level line of moulding which runs above the points of the main arcades, but kept back on a different plane from the piers to permit the dominance of the vertical elements. The mouldings and details are those of the new Perpendicular style which Yeveley was just perfecting in the king's service, and which was to rule English architecture for the next hundred years.<sup>27</sup>

In looking about us, then, with the admiration and reverence due to one of the greatest of all works of architecture, certainly the most noble of all individual parts of any English cathedral, we must give heartfelt thanks for the amazing gifts of creative genius with which its architect, Henry Yeveley, was endowed. His work has,

notwithstanding time and the shocks of war, survived for six centuries and remains for our joyous contemplation. What we must not overlook is to give thanks also for the life of Simon Thebaud, Archbishop of Canterbury, the man who made it possible.

JOHN HARVEY.

#### REFERENCES

1. On Sudbury see the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; W. L. Warren, 'A reappraisal of Simon Sudbury, bishop of London (1361-75) and archbishop of Canterbury (1375-81)'; *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, X (1959), 139-52; also 'Archbishop Simon Sudbury and Canterbury', *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*, 1981, 29-33; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, III (Oxford, 1959), 2218.
2. *Proceedings of the Suffolk Archaeological Institute*, VII, 24; cf. Victoria County History, *Suffolk*, II (1907), 150-52.
3. *Calendar of Close Rolls 1339-41*, 147, 423, 478; *1341-43*, 257, 363; and references to John the son of Nigel Thebaud of Sudbury, 537; *1343-46*, 116; *1346-49*, 504.
4. Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541, Bath and Wells* (1964), 4, 49.
5. Emden, *op. cit.* (note 1), 2219.
6. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1374-77*, 77; *1377-81*, 445, 534, 552; C. G. Grimwood and S. A. Kay, *History of Sudbury, Suffolk* (1952/1953), 38-39, 44, 138; V.C.H., *Suffolk*, II.
7. For the general background see J. Harvey, *The Black Prince and his Age* (1976), especially pages 130-34.
8. *Chronicon Angliae* (Rolls Series 64, 1874), 95, 98.
9. A. P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury* (10th ed., 1883), 148-52.
10. On the significance of the West Gate in the history of fortification, see J. G. O. Whitehead, 'Henry Yeveley, Military Engineer', *The Royal Engineers Journal* (1974), 102-10.
11. Lambeth Palace Library, Sudbury's Register 1375-81, f. 52a.
12. Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 136; R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (1845), 117.
13. D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason* (1933), 2 ff.; cf. 3rd ed. revised (1967).
14. G. G. Coulton, *The Meaning of Medieval Money* (Historical Association Leaflet, No. 95, 1934).
15. See, e.g., E. Victor Morgan, *The Study of Prices and the Value of Money* (Helps for Students of History, No. 53, 1950); J. Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style 1330-1485* (1978), 148-49.
16. For a study of the financial background of cathedral building, mainly in Europe, see H. Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar* (1979).
17. W. H. Dixon and J. Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, I (1863), 484 and note m.
18. J. Harvey, *The Mediaeval Architect* (1972), 83-84.
19. W. Hayter, *William of Wykeham: Patron of the Arts* (1970).
20. Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* (note 17), 248.
21. D. J. Stewart, *On the Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (1868), 67 ff.
22. For a full discussion see J. Harvey, *The Mediaeval Architect* (1972), especially pages 101-19.

23. See D.N.B.; J. Harvey, *Henry Yevele* (2nd ed., 1946); J. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects* (1954), 312-20; also 'Henry Yevele, Architect, and his works in Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, LVI (1944), 48-53; 'Some Details and Mouldings used by Yevele', *Antiquaries Journal*, XXVII (1947), 51-60; 'Henry Yevele Reconsidered', *Archaeological Journal*, CVIII (1952), 100-08.
24. J. Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style*, 97-98.
25. Canterbury Cathedral Bedels' Rolls, London, 49, Edw. III and many other years; information kindly supplied by the late Dr. William Urry.
26. Canterbury Cathedral, Miscellaneous Accounts No. 2, f. 323, communicated by the late Dr. A. B. Emden.
27. On the stylistic evidence see Arthur Oswald, 'Canterbury Cathedral: the Nave and its Designer', *Burlington Magazine*, No. 441, LXXV, 1939, 221-28.

# CANTERBURY 1265

## A Tale of an Unfinished Book

To God's eternal glory. As I sit here in the scriptorium, our writing room, and look around the stone walls I can let my mind reflect on those who have worked here before me: brothers who have written beautiful books we still use and some we never use. Books full of words and pictures for use in the worship of the great god, our father in all things. Books full of figures and notes for the use of the prior, our father in this house. Books to read to enrich the mind. But more than these, books to write, to copy, to compile, to illustrate and make beautiful in the only way I know. Vanity is wicked and I would not boast as Aedmer did, a prince among scribes indeed, but I know that few can match the natural feeling of my work. Few would fail to realise that the work was mine.

This house has been here many years. True it has been rebuilt and I have read in Gervase's chronicle and other histories in the presses around me here that those were difficult years. Kings plundered her revenues, archbishops suffered for her and languished in exile, and fires have devastated her buildings. A hundred years ago the great choir was burnt down only to rise like a phoenix from the ashes more beautiful than ever. A hundred years and now I sit here with my goose quills, ink and colours to start work on my bestiary.

I have gathered together all my materials. These are many: my quills and knife, squirrel brushes, vellum, ink and colours, green, red and blue. And I sit comfortably in my carrel in happy expectation. I am starting from nothing; only the idea is there and the old book to guide me in providing a better book for my house. Old Ivo of Chartres compiled his bestiary many years ago. Some of his pictures are very strange and beautiful, so much so I doubt he had seen them except in his great imagination. Some he drew he knew, but not as I know them. In his text he tells what they are, but he has not seen them as I have done. Dragons are magnificent but rarely seen; but I have seen the huntsman in the field and the hares and dogs leaping on their prey. I have seen the stoat, the hedgehog and the mole in the fields and hedgerows near my childhood home; the horses on the farm drawing the heavy plough; the bluebottle in the kitchen and the bats in the great high tower; the doves in their cote and old Fran the convent cat, well fed and fat from her devotion to Bernard the cellarer and soon to be a mother again. Mice and rats abound in the granary and she works hard for her keep. As she sits in the sun does she guess at her immortality? A good likeness. A small head on her huge body, eyes inscrutable. There are other cats but Fran is a favourite with all the brothers. Her intelligence is there too. Not so much the other drawing, perhaps it is too stylish for a cat. My mind wanders as I turn the pages of Ivo's old book and I remember the sheep and lambs on the demesne farms, the rams and steers and cows and tales of wild animals I have been told. The

great bear whose cubs must be licked laboriously and lovingly into shape as they have none at birth, and the green and yellow crocodile, a strange four footed beast which swims in the river Nile and eats men.

Where shall I start? This is my book. No good turning the pages of Ivo. The Master of the Scriptorium will expect results and my time is short, limited to but a few hours in each working day when I can sit here and lose myself in my labour of love for God.

My pages are vellum, the smooth skin of the calf purchased from the dealers in the city by the sacrist. It has been soaked in limewater and scraped free of all hair and flesh, dried and smoothed. Some has even been chalked to make it look whiter. In the early years the brothers processed it on the premises, but now it is bought as required. The skins are small but even so I can manage, if I am careful, to cut six or eight double leaves from each one. I have worked out that I shall need just over one hundred medium sized folios for my book so I must let the Master of the Scriptorium know I shall require seven skins, perhaps eight to allow for holes and tears, and I expect I shall have to do several repairs as I go along to eke it out; the sacrist never tires of grumbling about the cost of the library. Still I do wish he would not purchase chalked vellum. The quality is poor and work suffers accordingly.

I have cut fifty-six pieces from the skins and trimmed them as nearly to shape as I can with my knife. Each one I have carefully folded in half with the smooth flesh side inside, the darker hair side outside. Now I am ready to design my book, to decide where the drawings shall go and where the text. Unlike my contemporaries and predecessors, I am not writing a commentary or gospel text with gloss on the standard pattern with the same number of columns and lines to each page. Mine is a freer more natural approach. I must observe the rules and balance my pages equally, but I will not use double columns or I must draw very small pictures. My margins shall be set double as usual on the left and single on the right and I must justify my text within them but there will be no overdecorated capital letters to vie with the drawings. Nor shall they be coloured. And as some animals and birds are small and some large, so shall I vary my drawings.

The pages are cut, the margins ruled, and the lines pricked and ruled with my stylus. That fishbone makes good fine holes. A few pages are left blank for larger pictures. I can begin. But now the bell is ringing for vespers and I must go.

My father was a tenant farmer on one of the convent farms. It was lush country and he did well growing wheat, oats and barley. Memories of my mother are dim. While father was large and lusty, she was quiet and still. I was her last child, a dreamer they said, little fit to till the fields like my six sturdy brothers. If I was to be happy in this life, then I should go to the convent in Canterbury as a monk. Father found sufficient for my dower and Prior Nicholas was well satisfied. I had talents and was quick to learn. He was sure

the decision was right. My parents could rest their minds in peace that they had served their god well in giving him a servant. Twenty years have passed since that day and I cannot say that I have been unhappy here. It was not the personal relationships I missed but the animals and birds I had seen and known so intimately in the fields and woods around the home farm. The long-eared owl which flew by day from the ancient ash; the magpies in their stark colours about their brash concerns; the young rams fighting at play; splendid horses coming and going from the yard; hens scratching round the doors.

When the Great Court gate closed behind me I was a young man with eager thoughts of serving god and justifying my father's sacrifice. It would be easy I thought to pray and live in this holy atmosphere. Such is faith. Had I but known. I had forgotten, did I even acknowledge the thought that monks too are human beings with lives and backgrounds like mine, dim shades in faith of those I read about in the books around me, who quarrel easily or are moody, happy and sad. Dreamer I was and dreamer I still am, but I have found a niche here where I could dedicate my talents to god. Through my novitiate I learned what was expected of me, but I also learned to write and use my talent. From a small boy I had drawn animals in the dust of the earth, in the dust of the great joined tressel in the hall; now I have smooth white vellum and goose and fine crow quills and ink, black and thick made from the gall of the oak mixed with water.

Over the past few weeks I have been busy in the short time I can spend here making drawings of birds and beasts for my book on scraps of vellum left over from other tasks. A large dragon for a full page, farm animals, exotic animals, frank copies from Ivo's pages, animals described by visitors and animals I have read about. In the back of my mind is a design for the prophet Adam and how he named the animals: they shall cluster before him in their many kinds, rabbit, hare, monkey, cow, horse, sheep, squirrel, crane, a snail, even a young dog, all shall be happy as they stand before him. I have read too of shipwreck and mermaids, how they lure men away from their ships as they sing their eerie songs; and how Jonah was thrown overboard into the jaws of a great fish to save his companions from wreck. I cannot draw men. Lines must suffice as I depict them looking ashamed as they realise their folly. Would some of the brothers recognise themselves? Perhaps, but I think not. A bluebottle; a bat; doves in the new cote; a unicorn; a deer; my hunting scene remembered from long ago, and as I look I recall the baying of the hounds as they race over the field and my excitement as if it were but two days past; my version of Ivo's sleeping man with a canary; the animals of the hedgerow; and Fran. They are all there and I am ready.

Much of Ivo's text about the beasts and birds I have borrowed for my own except what I know from my own observation to be untrue. Other brothers have helped in collecting information for everyone by now knows what I am doing. Under or round each

drawing I shall write a short account of that bird or beast, its habits and characteristics, its place in god's world and how we can learn from it. Not theology for I am no theologian (after twenty years I am still a deacon), but the lore of nature and what she can teach us about the world around us and so bring us nearer to god.

I am an old man now. It is near five years since I began my book and it yet lies unfinished. The hardest part was the writing. Either I knew nothing or else too much so that it would not balance. I was not satisfied and so I hesitated. But at least I have completed the drawings and finished the colouring of the great green fish at the end with Jonah as it were inside and much alive. The rest I must leave to others. I lay down my pen. . . .

ANNE M. OAKLEY.

*August 1981.*

# SAINT THOMAS MORE

Beheaded July 6th, 1535

*An Address delivered in St. Dunstan's Church, Canterbury, by Dr. Gordon Rupp at the annual Service in commemoration of St. Thomas More.*

"Then the Lord asked Satan—Have you considered my servant Job? You will find no one like him on earth, a man of blameless and upright life, who fears God and sets his face against wrongdoing. You incited me to ruin him without a cause—but his integrity is unshaken."

If anybody had asked us where we were going, on our way here, we must have given an ancient answer. We were going on pilgrimage to Canterbury, the remains of a holy, blissful martyr for to seek. We are here because "beneath this floor . . . is interred the head of Sir Thomas More, of illustrious memory". A man whose life was so many sided, a character so complex that in recent years scholars have debated "Which was the real Thomas More?" You might think this place of a skull could hardly supply the answer. For a skull is the point of anonymity, where we all become faceless men. You remember how Hamlet took up such a skull—

"This skull had a tongue in it and could sing once . . .

It might be the pate of a politician . . . one that would circumvent God, might it not?

Or of a courtier which could say 'Good morrow, sweet lord! How dost thou, sweet lord?' . . ."

Or "Why may not that be the skull of a lawyer? Where be his quiddities now, his quillets, his cases, his tenures and his tricks? . . ."

A jester ". . . Where be your gibes now? your gambols? your songs? your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar? Not one now to mock your own grinning? . . ."

Thomas More was all these—a politician, Member of Parliament and Speaker of the House of Commons—a courtier—a trusted King's servant, an ambassador who signed peace treaties—a lawyer—Lord Chancellor of England—the man remembered for his merry tales, whom Henry VIII loved for his wit, a kind of Lord High Jester.

But Thomas More played other roles—it is important that he was a Londoner. Shakespeare when he wrote the opening of the *Book of Thomas More* chose an up-to-date place to start—a riot in the streets of London, a riot against immigrants caused by skinheads. On that Evil May day 1517—

when—

"out of Paul's churchyard came three hundred—they ran plumb through St. Nicholas' Shambles and at St. Martin's gate they met Sir Thomas More and others, desiring them to go home to their lodging—and almost brought them to a

stay—but the people threw out stones and busses and hurt diverse persons; but still they threw out bricks and hot water—then they rushed through the doors of St. Martin's and spoiled all they found, and left few houses unspoiled—”

How modern, we must think, the violence—the bricks and bombs—boiling water instead of petrol—the hurt of innocent bystanders—the looting; but there in the centre Thomas More talking, skilfully pleading—almost winning, so that when it was all over the citizens chose him their spokesman to plead for mercy from the King.

Then there is More, the scholar, the friend of Erasmus, himself the author of marvellous writings—his brilliant study of Richard III perhaps best of them all—and his classic *Utopia*, a work mankind will not willingly let die.

And More, like St. Joan in the play, in love with religion. As a student he lived among the Carthusians and seems to have been drawn to share their vocation. Professor Elton finds this the explanation of some of More's baffling ambiguities—and sees him as a man drawn to the life of contemplation, but forced by his own inner struggles to go into the world, to find peace only at the very last in his cell in the Tower of London. There is truth here. More did not wear his hair shirt for purely ornamental purposes. But in the world, in his family, and in the service of his king and country he had not missed but found his vocation. I have met people like that, what we might call ‘parsons manqué’, and they have been rather sad people. But More recalls Wordsworth’s *Happy Warrior*—

“—the generous spirit who when brought  
among the tasks of real life hath wrought  
upon the plan that pleased his childish thought.”

And then, the lawyer. This was his trade, his skilled mystery, where he spent most of his time and earned most of his money. Even though his father was a judge, it was not influence but merit which took him right to the top of his profession. He had everything going for him, wit, eloquence, fairness, compassion; was without avarice and was incorruptible. He knew how to plead a case, and how to refrain even from good words. Margaret Roper married into a great legal family, and his other daughters married lawyers.

And he was a King’s servant, of the Privy council, to whom men murmured ‘Yes, Minister!’ And he was the king’s friend, not just the tame humanist which princes liked to show off to visiting firemen, but almost the only man Henry could bear to talk with after dinner—whose jokes could smile away the fret of the day, or who would take him on the roof to show the stars and explain the wonders of the heavens.

And—Defender of the Faith. Part of the team captained by Henry which included the Queen and her chaplains, and John Fisher, who waged warfare with their pens against the heretics who

were imperilling the souls of Christian men. And though More was a layman, he wrote more manfully than them all, treatise after treatise in which all his wit and eloquence and learning were displayed—a kind of super G. K. Chesterton and C. S. Lewis rolled into one. And he not only wrote but took charge of investigation of these heretics. There is a problem here for some of us—not to be swept under the carpet. I have spent long periods in the quietness of this church trying to reckon with it. The other day an evangelical friend of mine from Australia made a pilgrimage to Norwich. He wanted to see the ‘Lollards Pit’ where on a sunny day in August 1531 they burned a rather gentle, Cambridge don—the one Hugh Latimer called ‘little Saint Bilney’. But the only thing More had to say for him was that ‘he burned well and worthily’. But if this was a blind spot, it was one which More shared with most of mediaeval christendom—the tradition of a thousand years that those who were perverse in their beliefs must be bad and evil men. And with More, as with most of us, blind spots and insights belong together. He was not wrong in thinking that the Catholic faith is of all causes the one most worth fighting and dying for.

And there was his home—his household, for it included his four children, the in-laws, and eleven grandchildren—as we see that family in the famous painting, the ladies each holding a book, for the history of the higher education of women in this country cannot leave out More’s schooling of his daughters.

There they sit, in a great stillness of affection, in the great house at Chelsea. Here is Sir Thomas More when two-thirds of his life was gone. For until 1530 there was nothing to make More consider the picture in the Old Testament of a great and honoured judge in the time of his affluence, and the devastating question—‘Doth Job fear God for nought?’

Yet within three years he had been dispossessed, stripped of his honours and his wealth, torn from his family, and left alone, a sick and ageing man, a prisoner in the Tower. He had not changed one whit. But the world had broken up. The divorce between Henry VIII and Queen Catherine of Aragon, the break with Rome, the claim by Henry to be Supreme Head of the Church of England.

More nearly escaped. Everybody knew what he thought about the divorce, and we shall never know how involved he was with the little party of the Queen’s servants. He had told the King his view, and Henry was content to leave him alone and employ him about other business. But the administering of the oath, accepting the new title, brought a crisis, and when most members of the Establishment were falling over themselves to show their loyalty John Fisher and Thomas More were exceptions so eminent they could not possibly be ignored.

Fisher was a theologian, and like many theologians may have talked too much and too freely. But More was a lawyer. He was by temperament an enigmatic man—his little jokes and his humour were in some sense a defence mechanism guarding an inner privacy.

Some of you know the famous novel by André Maurois, *The Silences of Colonel Bramble*, the officer in the First World War who puffed away at his pipe and said nothing, whose silences were the most significant thing about him.

The silence of Thomas More is at the heart of his tragedy. He would give nothing away. He pleaded reasons of conscience, but he would not say what those reasons were. He would not give them to Thomas Cromwell, he would not even give them to his daughter, and in fact I believe he died without giving them to anybody. And so there were the letters he would not write or receive, the books he set aside unopened: the statements he would not pen, the oaths he would not swear. It was the silences which baffled, frustrated and in the end infuriated the King. It was a skilful defence. But it was also a dangerous one. For it laid him open to the charge of being mute of malice. Just once did he lower his guard and flashed out a devastating retort to Cromwell—"I will not meddle in such matters, for I am fully determined to serve God and to think upon His Passion, and my passage out of the world". It was an almost contemptuous dismissal of all the values of Henry's world and it was included in the True Bill of his indictment—where two of the four points of the charges against him was this silence.

It nearly came off, but it failed to save him. There is a striking modern parallel which you may read in Michael Balfour's fine life of Count Helmuth von Moltke, a distinguished lawyer who was arrested in the aftermath of the Hitler Bomb Plot of 1944. He, too, took refuge in silence—he pleaded that he had done nothing and written nothing. And at the end of the outrageous travesty of a trial, before his hideous execution, the Judge wrote across his papers—"He did more than think!"

And so to his last role, Thomas More Prisoner of Conscience.

"In my conscience", he said, "this was one of the cases in which I was bounden that I should not obey my prince . . . in my conscience the truth seemed to me to be on the other side—wherein I had not informed my conscience neither suddenly or lightly but by long leisure and diligent search for the matters, I leave every man in his own conscience and me thinketh that in good faith every man should leave me to mine."

But More's conscience was not just a private matter. It became public in its implicit challenge to all the rest.

In the Tower, More told Margaret a splendid story about a bunch of northerners who came up to London and who somehow got empanelled on a London jury, to try a Londoner. Well, of course, they agreed on the verdict of 'Guilty!'—except one little man who said and did nothing at all until they came to vote. His name was 'Company'—we should perhaps say 'Coompany'—and he defended himself for voting against the rest on the ground that if he went against his conscience he might have to forsake their coompany for hell, which is where he would go for leaving his conscience to follow theirs. It goes to the heart of Thomas More. For

conscience, we sometimes say, makes cowards of us all. But there is a long succession of prisoners from Micaiah the son of Imlah to little Master Coompany and Thomas More and Solzhenitsyn's comrades who say that conscience may make heroes of us all.

In the last weeks in the Tower he was a sick man and so weak he could sometimes hardly hold a pen. His last major writing, his Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation, bears marks of failing powers though it has a beautiful meditation on the 91st Psalm. But those sadly err who think of this as a time of peaceful contemplation. It was rather a battleground. For temptation was there to the very last moment to yield to the pressures of his friends and of his family. When, months before, he had cried out 'Son Roper, the field is won!' he had indeed won a victory, made a great decision, which was a turning point. But the fight was still on. In his marginal notes to his beloved copy of the Psalms there is one word which occurs at least 40 times—the word 'Demons'; that is, he marked all those passages where the soul is assaulted by deadly foes, human enemies as well as the forces of darkness. If we want an image for what went on in that cell, we might turn to Matthias Grunewald's tremendous picture of the *Temptations of Saint Anthony*—where the saint has been beaten to the ground, attacked by a whole posse of devils, one of which is biting his hand which is clinging to his prayer book—his life line—the jugular vein of the soul, which is faith. But he knew where to look—to the Passion of Christ, and to writing out the story of Gethsemane which is all about the temptation of Christ but also about Thomas More. A martyr, said T. S. Eliot, is never an accident. And neither is a saint. And so here in all these roles More came together, found wholeness, found his complete integrity—

"Hast thou considered my servant Job?—you incited me to ruin him without a cause but his integrity is *unshaken . . .*"

And More might have replied with words later in that poem—

"I know that my vindicator lives  
And that he will rise at last to speak in court  
And I shall discern my witness standing at my side  
And see my defending counsel even God himself  
Whom I shall see with mine own eyes  
And not another."

I have sometimes wondered if I would have canonized Thomas More, but I have no doubts at all about his daughter. Her letters reveal the real Thomas More—

"Mine own good father,

Father what think you hath been our experience since your departing from us? Surely the experience we have had of your life past and godly conversations and virtuous example and a surely not only of the continuance of the same but also a great increase by the goodness of our Lord to the great rest and gladness of your heart devoid of all earthly dregs and garnished with the noble vesture of heavenly virtues."

Who can forget how she ran and burst through the ranks of the Tower Warders, brushing aside their halberds, and clung to her father and kissed him.

"Farewell my dear child and pray for me and I shall pray for you and all your friends that we may meet merrily in heaven . . . I never liked your manner towards me better than when you kissed me, for love when it is daughterly love and dear charity hath no leisure to look to worldly charity."

In the Old Testament there is the great story of Rizpah the daughter of Aiah, whose sons were slain by David—

"And she took sackcloth and spread it out as a bed for herself on the rock from the beginning of the harvest until the rains came and fell from heaven upon their bodies. She allowed no bird to set upon them by day nor any wild beast by night."

So did Margaret Roper mourn and watch until at last she brought away that precious relic which turned the Thomas More story for us into a Canterbury tale; and made the peace of this sanctuary out of his holy silence. The place of a skull—which is in the Hebrew Golgotha—the place of the Cross was also according to Christian legend the place where the skull of Adam was buried. So tonight the Word comes to us all, reminding each of us that in Adam all die, and that in Christ all may be made alive.

There is one martyr among Bunyan's champions: Faithful who was taken and done to death in *Vanity Fair*, after defying the taunts of the crowd with 'We buy the truth'. About his witness and his death Bunyan wrote some simple lines which may be a fitting conclusion to our little pilgrimage this evening.

"The tryals that those men do meet withal,  
That are obedient to the Heavenly call,  
Are manifold, and suited to the flesh,  
And come, and come, and come again afresh;  
That now, or some time else, we by them may  
Be taken, overcome, and cast away.  
Oh, let the pilgrims, let the pilgrims then,  
Be vigilant, and quit themselves like men."

# CANTERBURY'S CHORAL MANUSCRIPTS

## Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Handwritten Musical History

Aside from five fragments retrieved from the bindings of archival documents, and a few other volumes from earlier times whose claims to the provenance are hotly contested, no musical manuscripts used in the quire at Canterbury Cathedral survive from before the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. From that time until the beginning of our own century several hundred must have been written, of which just over one hundred are still in existence in the Cathedral Library, while others have strayed to various places in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. While by no means the largest group of musical manuscripts in a British cathedral, Canterbury's still little-known collection is a distinguished, important and interesting one.

There are few scores in Canterbury's collection. During the heyday of the manuscript copy, before the advent of Novello and his confreres in the early nineteenth century, the organist generally owned the scores to the works performed at the Cathedral, whether he had written them out for himself or received them by post from colleagues at other establishments. Scores written by the 17th and 18th century musicians at Canterbury survive now at the British Library and elsewhere only because the hands into which they fell at the deaths of the original owners were those of interested parties, antiquarians and music collectors like William Gostling and William Flackton. The earliest significant scores still at Canterbury are two pieces by William Boyce copied in London and sent to the Cathedral about 1785 (MS 52) and a book containing the collected works of Highmore Skeats, who was organist from 1803 to 1831 (MS 53). Skeats had written festive anthems for such events as the annual meeting of the governors of, and subscribers to the Kent and Canterbury Hospital in 1813, and the peace after Waterloo in 1815. A few earlier bits and pieces and a half dozen other volumes from later in the century complete the list of score books. Otherwise Canterbury's music consists of the organists' compilations of accompaniments and choral parts.

In an ideal state there would have been a vocal part for each man in the choir and one for every second or third boy, each of which books contained the same music copied in the same order. Such was almost never the case. A full set of choral parts was seldom started simultaneously, except in the 1660s, when the choir was beginning at the beginning. Rather, as books were filled up by the addition of anthems or services, new ones were begun wherever the last left off. To economise on copying costs, about 3d. ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ p.) in the 17th century, the precentor directed that a given piece be written in as few manuscripts as was feasible, and thus the contents of each book varied. As pages were torn out accidentally replacements were made or not, depending on whether the incomplete piece was still in repertory. If a binding was worn out, the oppor-

tunity supplied by rebinding often led to the removal of no longer useful material and its replacement by new works. Thus, music copied by one man in 1680 came to stand alongside the work of another done in 1810. Utility was the only guide. But the performers then, like modern researchers, had trouble keeping track of what was in each book. Indexes, made by the organist or precentor, were kept in most volumes but they often included only those pieces still in use, or were not kept up-to-date. Many marginal notes indicate to choirmen that they must turn to page 213 of another book entirely for the *Jubilate* of Adrian Batten's service. And so on.

In common with many other cathedrals' collections, Canterbury's is rather short on books for trebles. Then as now, the younger members of the choir were prone to be a trifle rough on anything that passed through their hands. Aside from six nearly identical treble books (MSS 106a-f) compiled at the end of the time when manuscripts were used, around the turn of the century, only one other boy's part remains, copied between about 1800 and 1820 by the then organists Samuel Porter (1756-1803, died 1810) and Highmore Skeats. And a well-worn book it is indeed! Pages are missing here and there, almost every folio is dog-eared, and the urge to 'graffitize' is everywhere in evidence. And this is not to say that this last avocation was entirely forsaken by the more mature members of the choir!

Of the men's books it might be noted that in earlier times, as at present, counter tenors/male altos were a greater rarity, and therefore fewer parts were copied out for them. Basses must have exceeded tenors in number by a modest margin.

Among the men's parts are a number of books, many especially large or elaborate, which were set aside for the minor canons of the Cathedral, those ministers (the present precentor is currently the only representative of this society) who, before the changes wrought by the Church authorities of the last century or so, were by statute to have been chosen to serve at Canterbury as much for their musical talent as for their aptitude in things spiritual. More educated, better paid, and therefore more respected than their lay clerk colleagues, this group of six singers, from whom the sacrist and precentor were chosen, kept slightly aloof. By the end of the 18th century the Dean and Chapter were having special books copied for the minor canons. But the personal account book of Simon D'Evereux, minor canon from 1686 to 1733, shows that the custom earlier had been otherwise. D'Evereux mentions paying John Knott, a former King's School boy and the Cathedral's most elegant copyist for a book for his own use. D'Evereux's book does not survive, but a similar one which belonged to John Gostling does. Gostling, a minor canon from 1675 until his death in 1733, was a favourite bass singer of Charles II and a member of the choirs of the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's Cathedral in London in addition to his Canterbury duties. John's son, William Gostling, was also a bass and a minor canon from 1727 until his death in

1777, and is well known for his work as an antiquarian and music collector. John Gostling copied his own part book (MS 12) on large size pages and had it bound in what must have been a lovely red morocco cover. It is now in ruinous condition but it is still one of the most important books at Canterbury, since Gostling seems to have used the same book both here and in London. Nor did Gostling, when precentor, disdain the position of copyist for pay; several of Canterbury's other part books contain anthems in his handwriting which he may have personally brought back from London.

MSS 29 and 30 are another curious pair of books. They measure 47 x 29.5 cms. each and are easily the largest items in the collection. They were copied by Samuel Porter in his neatest calligraphic hand between 1760 and 1766 for the then dean, William Friend. Friend was a great lover of music and a supporter of the Canterbury Concert Series of which William Gostling and other Cathedral singers were the principal organisers. During Friend's time oratorios were performed in the Cathedral and chamber music was encouraged at the Deanery and in the Precincts.

The earliest Restoration manuscript copies at Canterbury are a few entries in a copy of a counter-tenor part to the very rare *First Book of Select Church Music* edited by and printed in 1641 for John Barnard, a minor canon at St. Paul's Cathedral and a former Canterbury choir member. Because the Civil War and the stoppage of Cathedral services made the book obsolete before it was entirely ready, Barnard's print was not distributed until 1660, by which time he was long dead. Canterbury purchased two sets of Barnard's book of ten volumes each from John Playford of London in 1660, and each was provided with extra manuscript paper to accommodate additions. Thomas Jones, a lay clerk who had been copying for the Cathedral since long before the war, was responsible for the first entries in these books and for other volumes (including MS 1). Curiously, Jones' musical handwriting was very like that of the unusual type face which was used in the print. Since Jones and Barnard had been colleagues at Canterbury in the 1620s, Jones' style of copying may have been adapted by the founders of Barnard's characters.

Although the chapter bought copies of Thomas Tomkins' *Musica Deo Sacra* of 1668 for the choir, and many manuscript works were added to them (as the archives attest), all those books have perished, and the next earliest bits of manuscript we have, aside from a few more copyings in the Barnard part book, are sections of music copied in the 1680s and 1690s which are tucked into books which were rebound, with additions and deletions, in the 1730s and 1740s. Within these are anthems both by the most important London composers, Purcell, Blow, Humphry and Turner, and by local musicians including the organists Robert Wren and Nicholas Wootton, and the minor canons John Sargenson and Humphrey Brailsford.

In 1699 the Dean and Chapter hired Daniel Henstridge to be organist and Master of the Choristers. He was by then an experienced man of about fifty who had already been over twenty-five years the organist at Rochester Cathedral, and before that organist at Gloucester Cathedral. Henstridge was an avid copyist, and together with John Knott he was responsible for a large number of manuscripts. The new organist, as a man who had known a lot of music in his time, was also clearly intent on expanding the choir's repertory, and many new pieces, both old and new, and including his own works, were introduced during a long tenure which did not end until 1736. Henstridge also seems to have been a close friend or colleague of the then only lately dead Henry Purcell and his copies of that composer's works at Canterbury and in other libraries are often the only surviving sources. To Henstridge's time date Canterbury's three earliest organ accompaniment books (MSS 9-11). Each organist had generally prepared his own before this, hence the disappearance of the books of earlier organists; but after Henstridge all the organists' copies seem to have survived.

Henstridge's successors, William Rayton, who was organist from 1736 to 1756, and Samuel Porter, respectively pupils of William Croft and Maurice Green, were composers of considerable stature and both added their own works as well as those of their teachers to Canterbury's repertory. Rayton's Service in A was still sung at Canterbury at the turn of the century. Porter's son issued a posthumous edition of the organist's music in the 1810s which thus became (with the exception of a single anthem by Rayton) the first choral works of a Canterbury composer to be published since before the Civil War.

During the 1730s and 1740s Rayton was ordered by the Dean and Chapter to set the choir books in order, which he did in the manner described above. During the next decades he and Porter seem to have doubled the number of manuscript volumes. But these were the last years of the heyday of the manuscript. Croft's and Greene's anthems were published in score in 1724 and 1743 respectively, and Rayton and Porter busily copied new choral parts from these sources. As the volumes were reprinted the Cathedral bought extra copies thereby reducing the necessity of using manuscript part books. William Boyce's monumental *Cathedral Music* in three volumes began appearing in 1760 and Canterbury, like most cathedrals, acquired several sets. Boyce's publication of significant amounts of earlier music made older copies of many works by Byrd, Gibbons, Child, Rogers and their contemporaries obsolete. It was, however, during Porter's time that the Handel vogue gripped Canterbury, and excerpts from and arrangements of his anthems, oratorios and other works were prominent among the manuscript additions to the repertory of this time.

During the tenures of Highmore Skeats and his student Thomas Evans Jones, who was organist from 1831 to 1872, nearly all newly composed music came to be made available in printed form.

Both score and part-book formats were made available by the energetic publishers of the day. Manuscript copying was thus limited to organ accompaniments (there are some ten of such books from this period: MSS 56-65), parts to the older works not yet, but probably soon to be printed, and extra voice parts to published music when not enough copies were to hand. During this period the musicians at Canterbury, as elsewhere in Britain, began first to turn their eyes towards the continent for sacred music. Works by Hasse, Sarti, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and of course that darling of the English public, Mendelssohn, became favourites alongside the usual fare and the compositions of amateur lords, ladies and high-placed clergymen.

Jones' successor, William Henry Longhurst, organist from 1873 to 1898, published not only many of his own compositions but also a good deal of the material that he still found to be available only in manuscript in the Canterbury books. After he 'edited' these works, often rather freely to say the least, the old copies became unusable and were either redone or the printed books were used exclusively.

The last decades of the 19th century saw the triumph of the octavo score, and only a few manuscript copies of the new works by Canterbury organists and their correspondents were added to the books. The latest manuscripts in the collection are arrangements from the 1910s and 1920s of works by di Lasso, Palestrina and Bach. From this incipient antiquarianism it was an easy step to our current eclecticism, Stanford one day, Byrd the next and Ridout the following.

In this brief ramble through Canterbury's musical manuscripts there has been no space to elaborate on the unique and rare among their contents. What is most remarkable is the manner in which the manuscripts, taken together with the later prints, give a vivid sense of the changes in musical taste through the centuries. And at the same time they demonstrate the continuity of a tradition which never jettisoned everything from a former era, but rather chose from the earlier repertory those things which spoke, and speak most directly to the present time, whenever that was, or is.

ROBERT FORD.

# CANTERBURY CANTATA

## MORNING (PRIME)

Rooks caw around the venerable building,  
Pigeons coo from nooks in the ancient walls.  
Through dark cloisters

Footsteps echo,  
Early worshippers to Eucharist  
Or King's School pupils to their breakfast.

Within the Norman undercroft,  
Restful dimness,  
Time captured  
And held.

Through the crypt-darkness  
Lit candles flicker,  
All is peaceful,  
No tourist-crowds  
Or chattering children  
Just a few, kneeling  
Shadows in half-light.

Stillness pervades the atmosphere,  
Hallowed by the prayers of centuries,  
Made by the great,  
Remembered in stone,  
And the humble,  
Forgotten by all  
But God.

Through the window of St. Anselm's Chapel  
Shines the early-morning sun of winter  
Scattering the glass-colours  
Upon the aisle-paving  
Turning stones red and yellow.

## MID-DAY (SEXT)

Now come the crowds of people  
From all countries of the world,  
Men and women  
Young and old,  
Every colour,  
Every creed,  
With languages familiar  
Languages exotic.  
Some as tourists  
So to view,  
Some as pilgrims,  
So with awe.  
Taking photographs,  
Or following guides,  
Chattering, pointing,  
Whispering, kneeling,  
Buying postcards,  
Reading guidebooks,  
Asking many questions,  
Making their confessions,  
Pressing buttons  
For taped history.  
Lighting candles  
For modern martyrs.  
Thoughtfully looking  
Or rushing through,  
To the Church of Christ  
Come all God's children.

Great cathedral, Mother of the English Church  
Carrying the faith throughout the centuries.  
Symbol of the constancy of God,  
Standing firm in all vicissitudes,  
Murder, pillage, Reformation, fire,  
Have not destroyed this holy place.  
God's magnificence is echoed in  
The soaring shafts and lofty vaulting,  
Brilliant, beautiful stained glass  
Richly glowing medieval colours,  
And heaven-pointing music,  
Lifting hearts in joy and awe to God,  
Whose love is shown in the fellowship  
Of those who share the Body of Christ,  
None excluded, all are welcomed,  
Joining here on earth those in heaven  
In the Church's great song of worship,  
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

Great cathedral, Mother of the English Church  
Carrying the faith throughout the centuries.

## EVENING (VESPERS)

Above the bustle of the town  
Great Dunstan tolls for Evensong  
Now come shoppers, students, workers,  
Pausing after a busy day.

In the silence, in the music,  
Find they peace and harmony  
Time for reflection, time to  
Pray, time for re-creation.

“Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.”

In the winter-evening Precincts  
Darkness is broken by the light,  
Gentle golden light of old lamps.  
Countless spirits could wander here—  
Alphege, Thomas, Simon,  
Murdered Archbishops three,  
Kings, princes, prelates, abbots  
And thousands of pilgrims  
Through Canterbury passing  
On the tide of history.

In Summer, a different grandeur,  
Irradiated by the setting sun,  
The stones glow pink.  
Around the great church,  
Swallows swoop, wheel and pipe,  
Dark arrows against a clear evening sky.

## NIGHT (COMPLINE)

Bell Harry tolls curfew  
The great gates are closed,  
Turning the Precincts  
Into an oasis of calm  
After a tourist-filled day.

As nightshades fall  
A new splendour  
Never seen by pilgrims of Chaucer's day,  
Floodlight.

Fruitful marriage  
Of noble Gothic and  
Twentieth-century technology.  
Bathed in golden brightness  
Every carving,  
Curve, angle and pinnacle,  
Thrown into sharp relief,  
A "Gloria" in stone.

At an appointed hour,  
A switch is thrown,  
Then darkness.  
Huge black outline of the Cathedral  
Silhouetted  
Against a navy-blue sky.

Silence,  
Stillness,

"In peace we will lie down and sleep."

MARK REES

## BOOK REVIEW

### THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

by Dr. Francis Woodman

(Published by Routledge and Kegan Paul. Price £35)  
(£25 to the Friends of the Cathedral)

Of making many books about Canterbury Cathedral there seems to be no end—and there has certainly been a spate of them in recent years. Now comes one of exceptional interest since it is by a member of the Council of Friends and a citizen of Canterbury who has grown up with the subject of his book. Dr. Woodman has attempted an ‘anatomy’ of the Cathedral examining with great detail every inch of the building, studying the architects who over many centuries combined to create one of the noblest and most interesting churches on the face of the earth, and some of the furniture within it as well as the stained glass windows. The result is a book which will be of great value for a long time to come to all serious architectural students and art historians, though its rather dense style and use of many technical terms may not make it an appealing book for the general reader.

Some of the author’s theories are very controversial, notably his assertion that the Nave was not the work of Henry Yevele but more likely of Thomas Hoo, which we may hope will evoke an authoritative reply from Dr. John Harvey (who contributes an article to this number of the *Chronicle*).

Dr. Woodman also has some interesting suggestions about the dating of the great pulpitum screen to the mid 15th century. He is perhaps less happy in some of his judgements about the restoration of the stonework of the Cathedral or the quality of some of the stained glass inserted since the Second World War. (I am not alone in liking Harry Stammers’ great window in St. Anselm’s Chapel, nor in thinking that it is no business of a Dean and his Chapter to watch their Cathedral decay when the renewal of its stonework becomes essential. After all it is the interior of a Cathedral that matters most—where the people of God gather for worship—however visually important the exterior may be in the surrounding landscape.)

However, these are small points to criticise in a book which is a remarkable achievement in many respects. What a pity that the publishers have issued it in so expensive an edition which will put it outside the price range of many people who would like to have it on their shelves, and would profit by being able to read it at leisure. Dr. Woodman has illustrated his book with many photographs of a highly relevant character, but they are surely not of a sufficiently good quality to justify so high a price even allowing for the lower figure at which it is available to the Friends of the Cathedral.

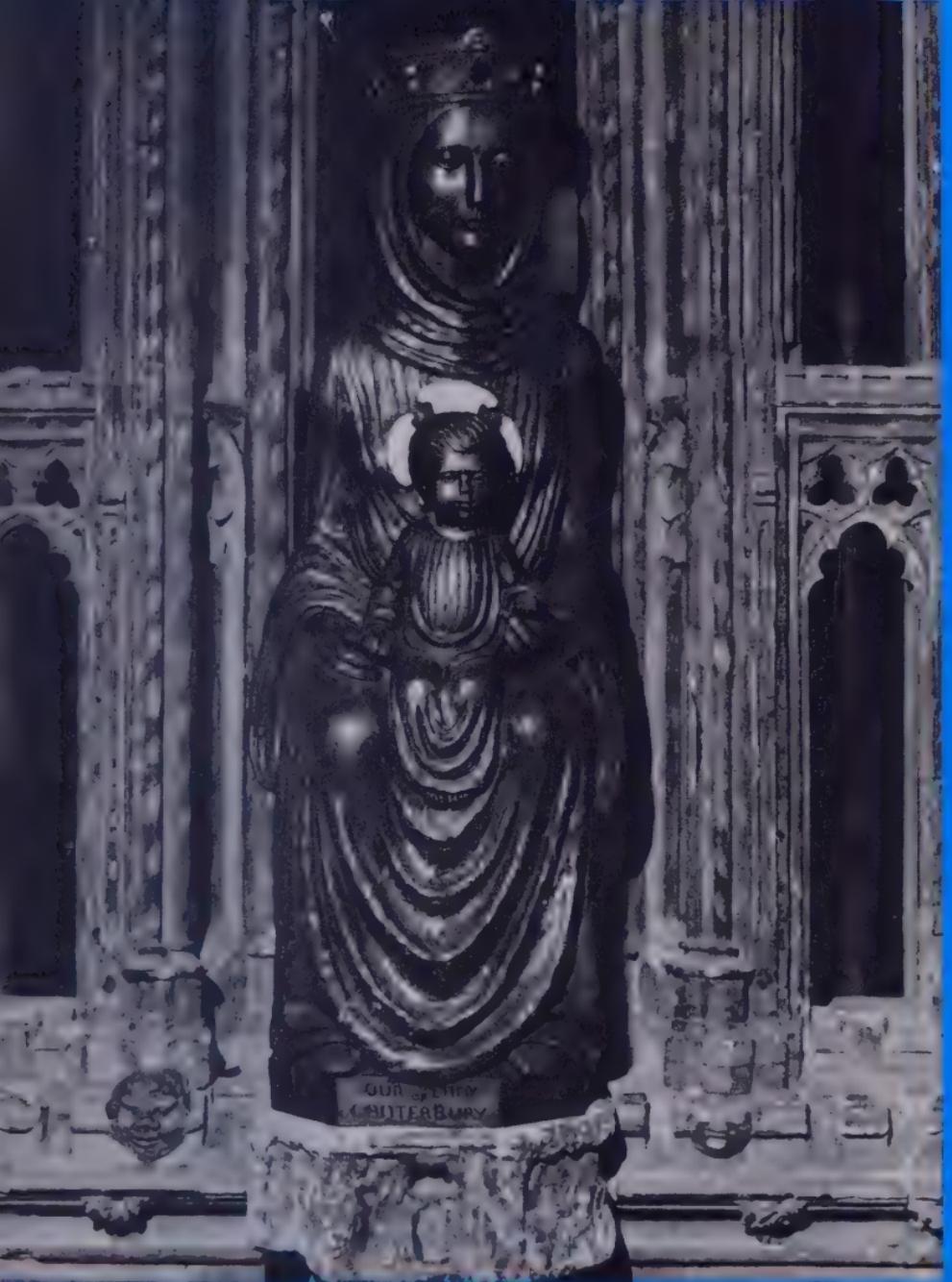
DEREK INGRAM HILL.



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE  
NUMBER 76 APRIL 1982

Published by The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral,  
11b The Precincts, Canterbury. Telephone 62806.

Printed by The Elvy & Gibbs Partnership,  
11 Best Lane, Canterbury.



INTERBURY CATHEDRAL  
CHRONICLE  
1983



# THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

*First Friend on the Roll :*  
**HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN**

*Royal Patron :*  
**HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER**

*President :*  
**THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, P.C., D.D.**

*Patrons :*  
**THE LORD CLARK OF SALTWOOD, C.H., K.C.B., F.B.A.**  
**THE LORD RAMSEY OF CANTERBURY, D.D.**  
**HENRY MOORE, ESQ, O.M., C.H., F.B.A., A.R.I.B.A.**

*Chairman of the Council :*  
**THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY (The Very Reverend Victor A. de Waal)**

*Steward :*  
**CHARLES BARKER, ESQ.**                    *Treasurer :*  
**JOHN NICHOLAS, ESQ.**

*Members of the Council :*

The Revd. Canon A. M. Allchin	Miss Joyce M. Melhuish
The Mayor of Canterbury	John Nicholas, Esq.
Mrs. Nancy Clifford	The Ven. John Simpson
Professor Patrick Collinson	Paul Pollak, Esq.
Colin Dudley, Esq.	Mrs. M. C. F. Prichard
The Revd. Canon D. Ingram Hill, F.S.A.	The Revd. Canon J. de Sausmarez
Dr. Wendy Hughes-Jones	Mrs. M. Scott-Knight
The Rt. Rev. H. Isherwood	T. Tatton-Brown, Esq.
David Kemp, Esq.	Dr. Allan Wicks, F.R.C.O., D.MUS.
Robin Leigh-Pemberton, Esq.	Dr. Francis Woodman
Sir Dawnay Lemon, C.B.E., Q.P.M.	The Right Hon. Lord Swinfen

# THE CHRONICLE 1983

Pulished by the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral

---

NUMBER 77

APRIL 1983

---

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	3
NOTES AND NEWS	6
DEATHS OF FRIENDS, MARCH 1982/FEBRUARY 1983	8
THE ENIGMATIC CLOCK BY DEREK INGRAM HILL	9
“THE BENEFICENT REGIME”—A TRIBUTE TO DEAN GEORGE BELL BY DEREK INGRAM HILL	10
THE CANTERBURY FESTIVAL PLAYS BY JOAN B. BARRATT	14
CANTERBURY AND EXETER—A MUSICAL LINK BY BRYAN LITTLE	28
ARCHBISHOP TAIT 1811-1882 BY P. W. L. CLOUGH	29
THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEATH IN THE BECKET CIRCLE BY DR. URSULA NILGEN	34
THE PRECINCTS WATER SUPPLY BY T. TATTON-BROWN	45
BOOK REVIEW BY ESTHER DE WAAL (Derek Ingram Hill's <i>The Six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral</i> )	52

## EDITORIAL

The last year was made ever memorable by the great service on May 29th to mark the visit of Pope John Paul II, an event which took place on a lovely May morning with the Pope and Primate going in procession from the Deanery through the Precincts surrounded by Cardinals and dignitaries and leaders of Christian Churches from all over the world through cheering crowds and with the sound of our bells ringing over the City. It might well be described as Canterbury's finest hour; certainly it must be regarded as the greatest day since July 7th 1220 when Cardinal Stephen Langton presided over the Translation ceremonies of St. Thomas. (But Pope Innocent III was not present on that occasion and Pope John Paul was on this!)

By common consent the visit to Canterbury Cathedral and the service here was regarded by the Pope as well as many others as one of the high-lights of his visit, and it seems fitting that permanent commemoration of the occasion should be made and this takes a twofold form: Mr. Michael Nightingale, a keen churchman who lives at Wormshill in the diocese and is a member of General Synod, generously commissioned the carving and painting of the arms of the Pope, the Archbishop and the Prince of Wales on blank shields on the Cloister vault where so many of the great ones of the earth at the end of the XIVth century are commemorated by their coats of arms. This work was completed by Christmas, the carving being done by one of the Cathedral's own masons, Steve Manuel, and the painting in correct heraldic colours by Michael Howe.

In the Martyrdom itself a commemorative slab has been let into the floor where Pope and Primate knelt inscribed 'In this place hallowed by the martyrdom of St. Thomas, Pope John Paul II and Robert Runcie Archbishop of Canterbury knelt together in prayer May 29 1982'. This was the gift of two laymen, Mr. Julian Andrews a lay clerk in our Choir, and Mr. Brian Court-Mappin.

A fine framed photograph showing the Pope and the Archbishop kneeling together has been placed on the adjoining wall by the Cathedral authorities and it is hoped that this historic spot may become a real place of prayer for Christian unity.

A very finely engraved slab to commemorate the late Dr. William Urry has been placed on the wall of the Cloister outside the Cathedral Library where he worked for so many years. This is the work of David Kindersley and was the gift of the Friends.

In the autumn of 1982 the exhibition in the Western Crypt was dismantled and the whole area opened up again. The Silver Treasury at the west end, closed for the winter, will be reopened after Easter, for this is a permanent feature of the Cathedral.

In May a lovely bronze statue of the Virgin Mother and Child (the subject of our cover illustration this year) was placed in the niche over the altar of Our Lady Undercroft to replace the ivory one so tragically stolen in January 1981, and this fine work by

the Benedictine nun, Sister Concordia of the Abbey of Minster in Thanet, has given great satisfaction to all who have seen it. Other works of importance have been the replacement of one of the miracle windows in the Trinity Chapel (south wall) last Easter: a window finely restored by the Cathedral Glass Workshop. Another window from the same wall has been under restoration for the last year and is now in place. The Wall Paintings workshop staff has been engaged on the restoration of the late mediaeval painting of the story of St. Eustace in the north ambulatory of the Quire, and this may well be acclaimed as a piece of work as interesting and satisfying as the vault of the Jesus Chapel in the Crypt, completed in 1981.

Other works of interest to record include the gift of a bell by the City of Canterbury to add to our thirteen bells already sponsored by the Friends and various public bodies or individuals. The bell chosen is No. XI, Augustine, which weighs 24½ cwts. and cost £5,350. All these bells, with their names and those of the donors are recorded on a plaque under the south west tower, beautifully written by Mr. W. Day who is responsible for so much beautiful work of this kind in our cathedral.

Many letters of appreciation come in day by day both to the Chapter Office and that of the Friends. One of the nicest came from a lady from a London suburb who wrote: 'What an absolutely lovely place the Cathedral is . . . This was because efforts had been made to create a friendly and informal atmosphere. Our visit made us happy and light hearted. The Cathedral was pretty full and we noticed that other people were enjoying themselves. Please don't change the way things are; the mixture is exactly right!' As a reassuring letter to a canon who is retiring after seven years work trying to make a visit to Canterbury an unforgettable experience in terms of enjoyment this tribute to all our work as Friends, Guides, Chaplains and the like could not have arrived more opportunely.

A word should be added at this point about our contributors. Mr. Tatton-Brown is of course the Director of the Canterbury Archaeological Trust and has contributed regularly to the Chronicle. Dr. P. W. L. Clough, a former Tutorial Fellow of the University of Kent at Canterbury, has contributed an interesting article to mark the Centenary of the death of Archbishop Tait who died in December 1882 while the centenary of the birth of George Bell (one of the outstanding Deans and Bishops of the Century) which was observed on February 4th this year is marked by an article of personal reminiscence by the Editor, and an appraisal of the Canterbury plays (which Dr. Bell did so much to inspire) by Miss Joan Barrett. Mr. Bryan Little of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society has sent us an interesting piece about Matthew Godwin and we have included a scholarly article on Becket and his circle from the pen of Dr. Orsula Nilgen who is on the staff of Munich University and a Friend with a great love

and knowledge of our Cathedral. As so often in the past we are grateful to Mr. Ben May for the use of a photograph from his camera of the 'Enigmatic clock'. As we go to press news comes to us that the Dean and Chapter have decided to move this clock to the west wall of the North East Transept during the restoration of the wall paintings in St. Andrews Chapel which is likely to be a lengthy operation, necessitating the filling of the chapel with scaffolding.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

#### A TRIBUTE BY THE DEAN.

This year marks the retirement of John Nicholas, after 12 years' devoted service as Steward of The Friends. Having had the pleasure and privilege of working closely with him for the last seven years, I am well placed to pay tribute to his kindness and sensitivity and also to his hard work. Great numbers of our Friends have come to know him personally and the large band of volunteers who have manned the office and worked in the Cathedral on The Friends' behalf, have depended on his support, his patience and good humour. It is good to know that he will continue on the Council to give us his advice and that we shall be able to continue to draw on his experience.

VICTOR DE WAAL.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### YOUNG FRIENDS

The hopes expressed a year ago about reforming the Young Friends of the Cathedral have been more than successfully fulfilled during the past 12 months.

Membership has risen to 65, and at least most of the events in the following programme have clearly provided members of the Young Friends with pleasure plus a satisfactory sense of having participated in activities beneficial to the Cathedral's broad interests and purposes.

Already for the summer of 1983 there are plans for visits to Peterborough and Ely Cathedrals, and arrangements are in hand for special tours of the current Canterbury excavations under the direction of Mr. Tim Tatton-Brown, a member of the Friends Council and Director of the Canterbury Archeological Trust.

### THE 1982/EARLY 1983 PROGRAMME

There have been several Meetings of the Young Friends at 11A The Precincts, and on

March 27th 1982

There was a tour of Bell Harry Tower conducted by Canon Ingram Hill.

April 14th 1982

A visit to Norwich Cathedral.

May 1st 1982

A visit to the organ loft with Dr. Allan Wicks.

June 5th 1982

A barbecue at the Deanery after Evensong.

July 24th & 25th

A visit to the Abbaye de Vaucelles and Chateau D'Olhain in France.

August 31st 1982

A visit to the Cathedral Glassworks conducted by Mr. Frederick Cole, Director of the Stained Glass Restoration Studio.

September 25th

A visit to the re-hung Bells with Mr. Richard Offen.

December 23rd

A large party moved about the Precincts, stopping at various points and houses to sing Carols before moving to the Theodore Room in The Old Palace for an enjoyable supper party.

January 5th 1983

Mr. Brian Lemar, Clerk of Works, conducted a party of Young Friends to the Cathedral Masonry Yard and explained the large variety of skilled tasks which are performed there.

## ITEMS FOR SALE

Prints @ £2.50 per set of 5.

Friends ties @ £2.50 each (Blue & Maroon).

Friends Pins @ 75p.

Friends Emblem Seals (Envelope stickers) in silver & blue  
@ 25p per sheet of 25.

Also available are a large number of surplus copies of the 1981 Chronicle and some recently discovered copies of the previously rare Chronicle No. 50 of September, 1955; the latter containing very interesting photographs including one in colour of H.M. The Queen, by Pietro Annigoni, and black and white photographs of the treasures from Archbishop Hubert Walter's tomb. If any members would like a copy of this Chronicle application should please be made to 11B, The Precincts, with 50p, or the equivalent, per copy, plus postage costs.

## A REPLACEMENT STEWARD

Mr. Charles Barker of Tonford Manor, Harbledown, already known to local Friends as one of the Cathedral Stewards, took over from Mr. John Nicholas as Friend's Steward on March 1st. Mr. Nicholas continues, for the time being, as Treasurer of the Society.

## OTHER CHANGES

The Revd. Peter Brett has been appointed as Canon Hill's successor on the Cathedral Chapter. He is to be installed as a Residentiary Canon on June 25th, but will not be free to take up his new Canterbury duties before September. The Bretts who have 4 children—3 boys and a girl, of whom the eldest is a boy of 19, are moving to the Precincts from the Durham Diocese.

Many readers will already know that Canon Derek Ingram Hill retired as a Canon Residentiary at the end of January when, at the Dean & Chapter's invitation he assumed the title of Custos Thesaurii with special responsibilities for the Cathedral Treasury in the Crypt. Canon and Mrs. Hill continue to live in the Precincts at Number 14C, and his strong links with the Friends remain in the shape of his membership of the Friends' Council and Editorship of The Chronicle.

The Vice President of The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, Sir Adrian Boult, C.H., O. St.J., D.Mus. died at the age of 93 on Tuesday, February 22nd. A member since the early years of The Friends, Sir Adrian served on the Friends' Council for 25 years until his retirement to become Vice President in 1974.

## DEATHS OF FRIENDS

*Recorded with reverence and honour following notification received between March 1st, 1982 and March 1983.*

Ambrose, Miss O. M.	Hunt-Cooke, Mrs.
Appleyard, The Rt. Rev. H. F.	Jackson, Miss C. H.
Baker, Mrs. P.	Jell, Mr. G. C.
Ballantyne,	Kent, Mrs. N.
Air Vice Marshall, G. A.	Kingsford, Miss E. C.
Barnes, Mrs. M. M.	Kirby, Mr. R.
Barwick Mr. R. R. O.	Kitchener, The Hon. C.
Blanc, Miss M. E. V. le	MacNutt, Mrs. E. M.
Botting, Mr. A.	MacRae, Mr. A. J.
Boult, Sir Adrian	McCowan, Mrs. F. A.
Bradley, Mrs. B.	Mockett, Miss I. M.
Bradford, Mr. Cecil F.	Montgomery, Mrs. L. C.
Brenchley, Mrs. M. L.	Mundy, Mrs. H.
Bury, Major J. J. S.	Norman, Miss G.
Clarke, Miss K. P.	Northbourne, The Lord.
Clay, Miss K. M.	Pearson, Mrs. H. F.
Clifford-Smith, Major E.	Platt-Higgins, Mrs. M. J. P.
Craig, Miss J. M. M.	Pocock, Mrs. C. M.
Dennis, Mrs. M. B.	Revell, Mrs. F.
Downing, Mrs. E. B.	Roderick, Mr. N.
Elgar, Mrs. F.	Roelevink, Mr. F. G.
Erle-Drax, Mr. J. S.	Rowland, Miss H. M.
Erwin, Miss O.	Schon, Miss U.
Farquhar, Mrs. D. P.	Shersby, Mr. E. G.
Fereday, Mr. E. L.	Sykes, Mr. V.
Finch, Mr. J. M.	Tasnier, Mrs. K. F.
Gates, Miss D.	Tugman, Canon C. C.
Gaskain, Mr. E. W.	Turner, Mr. J. E. B.
Grace, Colonel H. R.	Vertue, Miss C. F.
Hardy, Miss A.	Willan, Miss A. M.
Harris, Mr. J. B.	Winmill, Mr. J.
Haworth, Mrs. V.	

## THE ENIGMATIC CLOCK

On the north wall of the Romanesque chapel of St. Andrew in the Cathedral hangs a most handsome and attractive clock whose silvery chime can be heard telling the quarters and hours of the day in unison (usually) with the bells in the north west tower. All the visitors to the Cathedral seem to notice and admire it, and everyday vergers and guides are asked about it and its history; but no one can give an answer, for nothing is known of it.

On either side of the clock face stand figures—a monk on the right side and a knight on the left, symbolising Church and State respectively. Since they hold chains in their hands they were clearly once ‘quarter jacks’ but this mechanism no longer works. The clock bell is suspended over the clock itself and round the dial are the words ‘Power Riches Wisdom’ on the left, and on the right ‘Honour Glory and Blessing’ (Rev. V:4); below the dial ‘Strength’, while above the dial and below the bell the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove is descending. A long pendulum swings below the clock adorned with a circular medallion near the foot engraved with the face of the Sun (similar to the Sun Life Insurance sign).

Now where did this clock come from—and when did it first appear in the Cathedral? This is the unsolved mystery. As a schoolboy sixty years ago I was taken around the Cathedral by vergers who had been there for many years and told that ‘it was a copy of an old Dutch clock’. No guide book past or present refers to it and no book contains a photograph of it. (I have sometimes wondered if it is invisible to many people!) A diligent search of Chapter minutes and local newspaper files yields no information about it at all. But this last summer a visitor from Oxford who was interested wrote to me on her return home to say that a clock similar to this one belonged to a Dutch family known to her settled at Gibsons in Canada; it was made in Friesland and dated 1704 and had belonged to the Van Oort family for generations. (Our clock has no date on it, no maker’s mark or any means of identification.) So perhaps our old vergers were right when they said that it was a copy of an old Dutch clock.

Was it perhaps a present to the Cathedral by some generous forgotten benefactor a century or so ago? We should like to hear from any reader of this Chronicle who can throw any light upon the origins of this clock. It would be wonderful to be able to tell visitors of what clock it is a copy (if any), who made it and when and how it got into the Cathedral.

# 'THE BENEFICENT REGIME'

*A Centenary tribute to a great Dean*

*George Kennedy Allan Bell*

Early in January 1924 Dr. Henry Wace, who had been Dean of Canterbury for 21 years from 1903 to 1924, died at the age of 87 and was buried on the west side of the Cloister Garth. The Chapter then was composed of six residentiary canons, men of great ability, three of whom were Doctors of Divinity, and two others of whom were in due course to become diocesan bishops. Their government of the Cathedral during the interregnum was of brief duration, for little more than two months after Dean Wace's death the new Dean was installed—on St. Benedict's Day, March 21st.

Dr. George Bell aged 41, who was destined to become one of the great figures in the history of the Church of England during the next four decades, had been educated at Westminster School, Christ Church Oxford and Wells Theological College, and after a curacy at Leeds Parish Church had been for ten years the chaplain and trusted lieutenant of that great primate and ecclesiastical statesman Dr. Randall Davidson, among whose many gifts was a sharp eye for brilliant and promising young clergymen. He was fully aware that his own Cathedral Church needed a vigorous and imaginative Dean to give a lead to the Chapter in the long over-due task of bringing both the standards of worship and the whole life of the place into line with the needs and opportunities of the twentieth century and above all the challenges of the post-war world to the Church and its presentation of the Gospel message to the nation. And he could not have picked a better priest for the purpose.

As a schoolboy of eleven at Junior King's, located in the buildings in Palace Street now known as Walpole House, I was not allowed to go to the Installation Service; but I was fully aware of the general interest and excitement that the occasion aroused, and recall seeing the Primatial flag hoisted on the turret of the Old Palace to announce the arrival of Archbishop Davidson for the occasion. (Thirty-three years later on March 21st 1957 Bishop Bell confirmed my son Martin in the Lady Chapel of Chichester Cathedral and at tea afterwards reminded me that it was the anniversary of his installation at Canterbury).

The new Dean began to lead his canons towards the work of modernisation with great speed. Morning services on Sundays had been portentously long for centuries—Mattins in full, Litany, sermon, Communion, with the Athanasian Creed on all the days appointed in the Prayer Book. This liturgical marathon disappeared within three months to be replaced by Mattins and sermon, and a Choral Eucharist on the last Sunday of the month—an order which was to last unchanged for nearly fifty years. The announcement of these alterations in Sunday worship was made by the Dean himself during Mattins one Sunday morning

in Eastertide, and this was the first time I recall having seen him at close quarters. I have a vivid memory of him in his surplice and D.D. hood standing in his stall and speaking in a high, clear and very determined voice. Other changes followed thick and fast. A vigorous young priest, the Rev. Lewis Meredith (later Bishop of Dover) was appointed Precentor in place of the aged Rev. F. J. O. Helmore who had held office for many decades, and new music began to appear on the service sheets.

The new Dean seemed to be everywhere, darting around in gaiters and apron, looking into the management of Cathedral properties, securing the appointment of an efficient agent to manage Chapter affairs and tightening up the general standards of cleanliness in the Cathedral. (I cherish a recollection of him lifting up the carpet behind the High Altar to see if there was any dust there on one occasion when I was wandering round the Trinity Chapel.) But the major changes were what made news in Canterbury and much further afield. First came the bold decision to abolish charges for visiting the Crypt and the Eastern Arm of the Church, and to throw open the whole building to the public and trust their generosity to make up for loss of fees. Big boxes were installed for visitors' offering and the venture paid off handsomely. Emboldened by public support and interest, Bell then began to let his imagination have free play and inaugurated in 1927 the Friends of the Cathedral. I enrolled early in the proceedings (I was No. 1171) and soon there were 1,500 on the roll and the Water Tower Garden after Evensong to inaugurate the first objective of the Friends—the restoration of Prior Wibert's famous Water Tower. Long deserted side chapels began to be furnished with altars and to be brought back to use for daily worship.

The year 1928 saw the realisation of a project always dear to the heart of George Bell through the whole of his life both in Canterbury and Chichester—the reviving of the old alliance between the Church and the Arts. The Chapter commissioned a Nativity Play, **The Coming of Christ** the words of which were written by the Poet Laureate, John Masefield, with music by Gustav Holst and costumes designed by Charles Reckitts. The production took place in the Cathedral Nave using the dais before the Pulpitum Screen as the stage, and huge crowds filled the building every day in Whitsun week. This was the first of the Canterbury Plays which were to attract so much attention in the next ten years with poets like T. S. Eliot and Dorothy Sayers contributing plays which were to achieve what Dr. Bell desired: a restoration of drama to the church and the use of religious plays to teach the Faith—something which is now taken for granted but was a matter for wonder and sharp criticism then. (As a young parish priest in Croydon some fifteen years later I received a sharp rebuke from the great architect and artist Sir Ninian Comper for having a Nativity play in my church each Christmas.)

The year ended with a splendid service for the Enthronement of Cosmo Gordon Lang as Archbishop in succession to the great Primate Randall Davidson who had been Bell's mentor and who retired in November after 25 years as Archbishop; Dr. Lang was enthroned less than a month later on December 4th in a service of the greatest magnificence, the like of which had probably not been seen in this or any other English cathedral since the end of the Middle Ages. I had the good fortune to witness it from the north triforium of the Quire, standing with other King's School boys behind wooden barriers looking down on the High Altar and just opposite the Victorian Gothic throne from which the new Primate delivered his sermon. The Dean and Chapter had invited representatives of the arts, the universities, politics, as well as all manner of religious denominations, for Bell was not only fascinated by music, drama and poetry, but was already beginning to take a leading part in the ecumenical movement. He had already shown his ecumenical interests by arranging for a festival in 1924 to mark the 700th anniversary of the coming of the first Franciscans to Canterbury in 1224, and in the autumn of 1926 a memorial service for Cardinal Mercier, the war-time heroic Primate of Belgium. So a wonderful company of celebrities were gathered in every part of the Cathedral; the Marble Chair was placed before the Pulpitum for the first time on such an occasion and the actual enthronement there was carried out by the Dean himself as the successor to the mediaeval priors and followed by the splendid Te Deum in G by Vaughan Williams which had been commissioned for the occasion.

It was George Bell's finest hour as Dean, brilliantly conceived and organised, and no one was surprised when early in the following year he was named as the new Bishop of Chichester and consecrated in the Cathedral which he had stirred into such new life in five short years. (Cosmo Lang wore a cope for the occasion, thereby making a bit of history since no vestments had been used in Canterbury Cathedral for nearly four centuries, though copes were soon to become a very familiar sight here as elsewhere as church life became more and more influenced by the principles and inspiration of the Catholic Revival).

Bishop Bell was to remain at Chichester for nearly 30 years, returning on special occasions to Canterbury, as in the summer of 1936 when he presided at the ceremonies which marked the restoration of the Christ Church Gate and the reconstruction of its twin turrets. I think it was on that occasion when as a young curate I recalled to him that I had been a schoolboy in Canterbury 'under his regime', and with a charming and impish smile he retorted, 'Under my beneficent regime, you mean.' I thought the adjective described very well what his five years meant to Canterbury, for though he had left us before the first Cathedral Festival took place in the late summer of 1929 he had planned and organised it, and also ensured the continuity of his work in this and many fields by appointing Margaret Babington as Steward of the Friends just before his departure.

It was a matter for great sorrow to his many friends in Canterbury that his retirement to a flat in the Precincts in the summer of 1958 was followed within a few weeks by his death. I remember meeting and chatting to him outside St. Augustine's College a few weeks before he died and asking him where I could obtain the words of a hymn which he had written for the three hundredth anniversary of the death of the great composer, Orlando Gibbons, which was sung in procession to his monument in the Nave on June 5th, 1925. Within a few hours he had hunted out a copy of the service paper for that occasion and sent it over to me. I have kept it and now add it to this short personal memoir of a great dean, a much loved bishop and a most gifted and attractive man. May he never be forgotten by Canterbury Cathedral and its Friends, whose Founder he was.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

HYMN

"Canterbury" (Song 13)                    O. Gibbons

God, to Whom all creatures  
bring  
Psalm and praise and thanks-  
giving  
Help us from our hearts to say  
"Hallowed be Thy Name"  
today.  
Grant that, as Thy choir on  
high  
Sings in perfect harmony,  
So may we, with one accord,  
Make sweet music to our  
Lord.  
All day long in countless ways  
Earth itself pours forth Thy  
praise:  
Birds with rich melodious  
notes  
Praise Thee from a million  
throats.  
Mountain, valley, river, sea,  
Tree and flower in praise  
agree;  
Beauteous Nature with one  
voice  
Bids mankind rejoice, rejoice!  
Teach us, Lord, to answer then,  
Join our songs and cry Amen,  
Till the Universe proclaim  
"Holy, Holy is Thy Name."      Amen.

G. K. A. Bell

# THE CANTERBURY FESTIVAL PLAYS

*Their Moral Choice and its Consequences*

By JOAN BEATRICE GLORIA BARRATT

## PLAYS PRODUCED AT CANTERBURY

1928	John Masefield	The Coming of Christ
	Revivals of <i>Everyman</i> and <i>Dr. Faustus</i>	
1932)	Tennyson	Becket
1933)		
1934	Laurence Binyon	The Young King

The foregoing were not commissioned by the Friends, and so are not considered here. The proceeds from their presentation were earmarked by Bishop Bell to finance the commissioning of the Friends' plays which followed:

1935	T. S. Eliot	Murder in the Cathedral
1936	Charles Williams	Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury
1937	Dorothy L. Sayers	The Zeal of Thy House
1938	Christopher Hassall	Christ's Comet
1939	Dorothy L. Sayers	The Devil to Pay
1947	Laurie Lee	Peasants' Priest
1948	Christopher Fry	Thor, With Angels
1949	Revival of <i>The Zeal of Thy House</i>	
1951	Robert Gittings	The Makers of Violence
1953	Ross Williamson	His Eminence of England
1959	Revival of <i>Chris's Comet</i>	(in the Marlowe Theatre)
1962	Patric Dickinson	A Durable Fire
1970	Revival of <i>Murder in the Cathedral</i>	(in the Nave)

### *Abbreviations of title employed*

Murder in the Cathedral—‘Murder’

The Zeal of Thy House—‘Zeal’

In considering the achievements of the dramatists who accepted the challenge of writing a play for the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral it is necessary to appreciate the limitations imposed upon them, particularly by the circumstances of performance. All the plays were originally presented in the chapter house, which is a high-pitched, rectangular chamber capable of seating approximately 389, and devoid of theatrical lighting. Subjects were to be connected with Canterbury, and the required playing time was ninety minutes. E. Martin Browne, who directed all the original productions, has described the situation at the time of the first presentation of *Murder in the Cathedral*:<sup>1</sup>

The . . . . . building is a fine one, but the height makes it over-resonant, and it was . . . . . not planned for dramatic performances. The simplest provision has been made for such events by installing a platform the full width of the building (thirty-six feet) at the east end. But to increase seating space it had been made only nine feet deep. These are not good dimensions for a stage; not only is there

<sup>1</sup> E. Martin Browne, *The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays* (Cambridge 1970) pp. 56, 57.

very little scope for movement from front to back, but it is difficult for actors to pass each other when many are on stage and they need to move from side to side.

The only door to the building was at the back of the auditorium, ninety feet from the stage. This meant that all entrances and exits must be made through the narrow central aisle between the seats, unless any actors were concealed on stage before the door was opened for the arrival of spectators.

These limitations of staging were overcome more successfully by some playwrights than by others: some turned them to positive advantage. I well remember the unnerving effect of sitting in an aisle seat, watching *The Zeal of Thy House*, and finding awesome archangels, towering nine feet high, had silently passed by on their way to the stage. This situation served also to assist the involvement of the audience, for the Tempters in *Murder* also used this route, and so helped suggest that Becket was not the only human being to know temptation. Similarly, the Knights in the same play could claim to come from the people and to be acting for the common good, deriving some justification from their close physical proximity to the audience.

Charles Williams made particularly good use of the situation at the end of *Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury*, and E. Martin Browne relates how it came about.<sup>2</sup>

The lack of a proscenium arch was another uniting factor, which had its effect upon all participants.

Because of the restriction imposed by the setting the cut and thrust of the action in these plays has to be largely cerebral and verbal, so that they reward the closer and more leisured attention possible in the study. It also renders what action can be introduced all the more effective, as when in *Zeal* the large and obvious fault in the rope passes across the stage under the closed eyes of those assigned to check it for safety.

So much for the means available—what of the end? What went we out to see? What we did in fact see was English religious drama revisiting its original home and proclaiming its original message in contemporary, historical and local terms, just as in mediaeval times.

In *Murder* the actors who tempt Thomas later, as the murderous Knights, bring out the social consequences in what has been referred to as 'the temptation of the audience',<sup>3</sup> and it is a feature

<sup>2</sup> Williams had a mind like quicksilver. When I brought him to Margaret Babington . . . . she said to him: "Mr. Williams, I have one request to make. The last four festival plays have ended with the hero being carried feet first through the audience. Will you please choose a man to whom this doesn't have to happen?" There was not an instant's pause. "Cranmer", said Williams; "he ran to his death". (E. Martin Browne, 'Drama in the Friends' Festival' Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle 71 (1977) 38, 39.)

<sup>3</sup> David Jones *The Plays of T. S. Eliot* (London, 1960) p. 61.

common to all the Canterbury plays that contemporary relevance is juxtaposed with historical fact and the importance of individual choice.

T. S. Eliot shows us Becket, the Everyman figure, making his decision, a process externalised for the audience by means of the four Tempters, who later, as the Knights, become the agents through which the consequences of his decision are visited upon the Archbishop, while the social implications are voiced by the Women of Canterbury.

These two themes, of individuals (with whom the audience is invited to identify) called upon to make crucial moral decisions, and the effect these have upon the lives of those around them and those who come after them, emerge many times in the plays, and are presented by a variety of means.

In Eliot's play the Women of Canterbury place the events they witness in the context of the seasons and the human emotions which have not changed since Becket's time, and their language reflects the timelessness of their dramatic function: at the same time they give expression to their women's intuition:

What shall we do in the heat of summer  
But wait in barren orchards for another October?  
Some malady is coming upon us. We wait, we wait,

For us, the poor there is no action  
But only to wait and to witness. (Part I, p. 13)

Their language is simple, as befits simple folk, and it is they who finally integrate the audience into the play by means of words similar to those which unite a congregation in confession:

Forgive us, O Lord, we acknowledge ourselves as type of  
the common man,  
Of the men and women who shut the door and sit by the fire;  
Who fear the injustice of man less than the justice of God; (Part II, p. 87)

The Tempters, on the other hand, being part of Thomas, employ the same type of speech as he does during most of the play. His change from verse to prose for the sermon is balanced by the abrupt descent of the Knights into cliché-ridden platform rhetoric, and the two episodes balance each other in the play's design: where the sermon puts the eternal viewpoint of the Church on martyrdom, the Knights' apology presents it from the contemporary standpoint to an audience which, forewarned by Thomas, is able to detect not only its hollow ring but its dangerous plausibility: the audience, like Thomas, experiences temptation, has to make a moral choice, at the same time and in the same place as he does, and thus is enabled, partially at least, to identify with him in his struggle to do the right deed for the right reason.

In *Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury*, the play which followed *Murder*, the Tempters' function of externalising inner conflict for

the benefit of the audience is taken over by the skeleton figure<sup>4</sup> of the Figura Rerum, the shower-forth of things, who, being Archbishop Cranmer's alter ego, shows his 'incredulous Thomas' what he already knows, can foresee the grim consequences of present decisions, and puts the audience forcibly in mind of them while the causes are being enacted. In cryptic fashion he drives home the point that desires, for good or ill, may have results as unwelcome as they are unexpected, illustrating the fallibility of human goodness and wisdom:

Cranmer . . . . .

that the King's law might run savingly through the land :  
so might I, if God please, outcast from my bretheren stand.

### The Skeleton

We of heaven are compassionate - kind;  
we give men all their mind,  
asking, at once, before they seek, they find.  
We are efficacious and full of care;  
why do the poor wretches shriek in despair?

. . . . .  
We see our servant Thomas; we see  
how pure his desire—Amen; let his desire be.

(Part One, p. 11)

Like the Knights in *Murder* the Skeleton addresses the audience direct, making its members aware that as representatives of humanity they are in the same boat as Thomas Cranmer:

### The King

Thomas, Thomas, Anne is not what I thought.

The Skeleton [speaking over the audience] A remark few of  
you die without making.  
[Over his shoulder to Cranmer]  
nor shall you die without making,

(Part One, p. 19)

As for the social consequences and the motives of society's leaders, the Lords in Williams' play, speaking to the King, bear more than a superficial resemblance to Eliot's Tempters/Knights (p. 21-23). All their protestations of pious and patriotic motives are revealed at their true worth by the final line: 'It were good the gentry of England had their goods.' (p. 23)

### As Thomas Becket cries in his agony :

Is there no way, in my soul's sickness,  
Does not lead to damnation in pride?

(Part I, p. 40)

<sup>4</sup> A figure who, with his fore-knowledge, comes from the Dance of Death, of which Dr. Neuss writes: 'In 1424 the *Danse Macabre* was painted in the churchyard of the Innocents in Paris. On the wall, thirty men from all states of life were depicted in procession, hand in hand with the dead image of themselves. In the accompanying text each dead man in turn, from the Pope to the hermit, announced the hour of death to his living partner, and was answered with a lament.'

so Thomas Cranmer in his: 'Christ my God, I am utterly lost and damned, I sin whatever I do.' (Part Two, p. 67). But Cranmer, unlike Becket, is certainly not tempted to seek martyrdom: his temptation is to deny what he sees as truth in order to live, and he is human enough to succumb, if only temporarily. He goes to the fire having, at the insistence of the Skeleton, finally admitted the ultimate truth about himself.

The practicalities of the State are seen as diametrically opposed to the ideals of the Church, and because both demand total obedience they are totally irreconcilable.

Dorothy Sayers abandoned Archbishops to do a thoroughly workmanlike job about a master-craftsman, employing appropriate draft imagery (and humour) to get her points across:

Prior                          My son,  
Will you not let God manage His own business?  
He was a carpenter, and knows His trade  
Better, perhaps, than we do, having had  
Some centuries of experience; nor will He,  
Like a bad workman, blame the tools wherewith  
He builds His City of Zion here on earth.

(III. p. 60)

Indeed, the chief human tool employed in raising Canterbury's choir is seen as exceedingly human—suspected of dubious deals with suppliers, and having dealings with Lady Ursula about which no doubt is possible. The temptations are likewise presented straightforwardly, but in the main it is the religious, not the lay, characters who undergo them: the speech of the Prior quoted above is in reply to the scandalised protestations of Theodatus, one of the monks. It is often the monks who have to make the choices, and the angelic characters comment from the standpoint of eternity, as the Skeleton did in the previous play. The angels, according to Laurence Irving,<sup>5</sup> represent 'the Will of God, Fate, Providence, Accident or what you will and, in the final scenes, that bright flash of intuition which occasionally illuminates even the most clouded conscience'.

The first choice presented is that between the shoddy and the over-extravagant, as represented by the choice of an architect, and Gabriel's comment is 'The motives of mankind are lamentably mixed'—a comment swiftly followed by the visual humour of Gabriel furnishing Cassiel, the Recording Angel, with a new quill plucked from his own wing.

The flaw in the architect selected, William of Sens, is established immediately the choice is announced by his answer to Gervase as to the justice of the accusations levelled at him by the losers:

<sup>5</sup> Laurence Irving, Preface to *The Zeal of Thy House* (London 1949) p. 6.

William Listen to me, young man. At my age one learns that sometimes one has to damn one's soul for the sake of the work. Trust me, God shall have a choir fit for His service. *Does anything else really matter?*

(I, p. 31)

The passage from Ecclesiastes which immediately follows this declaration of intent celebrates the craftsman's legitimate pride in a job well done, and makes it clear that William is not entirely without justification. His error is revealed by the final question to Gervase, quoted above. The point is further reinforced by the Angels' discussion of William after the variety of movement (and motive) introduced by the pilgrims. Against the sins cited by Michael (II, p. 33) Raphael sets the skill and labour of William's mind and hands as prayer (II, p. 34).

William is warned by the Prior that his scandalous behaviour is affecting the work, and immediately we see the truth of his assertion, as the two extremes of Simon's vulgar curiosity and Theodatus' prudish attitude alike distract them for crucial seconds from their rope-checking. William suffers for his own sin via the sinful blindness of others, but in consequence sees the hand of the Master Craftsman shaping the happening into a fit punishment:

I understand. A year ago  
An idle mason let the chisel slip  
Spoiling the saint he carved. I chid him for it,  
Then took the tool and in that careless stroke  
Saw a new vision, and so wrought it out  
Into a hippocriff. But yet the mason  
Was not the less to blame. So works with us  
The cunning craftsman, God.

(IV, p. 96)

Like Lucifer's, William's sin is pride—pride in his work, which he now has to resign to another. Like Lucifer he falls; unlike Lucifer, but appropriately for a craftsman, he sees the design behind the apparently chance incident, thus enabling the audience to do so.

Dorothy Sayers compared her two Canterbury plays in her introduction to the second, *The Devil to Pay* (p. 108). She also gave her reason for adopting the technique of simultaneous setting, or 'mansions' as assisting the audience to recapture the spiritual climate of the sixteenth century.

In this play at least, the means of externalising the internal moral choice is 'given', certainly as far as the wrong choice is concerned. Its consequences to others are shown by the reactions of those who hold Faustus in affection, and its consequences to himself are clearly indicated by Mephistopheles in Scene IV: 'Faustus hath made himself into a beast' (and his soul is represented by a dog—a daring coup de théâtre at the time.) In this play the theme is presented twice, once from the earthly point of

view, once from the eternal standpoint. Throughout the main action Faustus is seen enjoying the consequences of his first damning choice—loss of personal relationships, desertion of ideals, and disillusion among them. His second choice, after his death, is a completely free one:

Judge . . . . .

Only the knowledge of the good and evil  
. . . . . is granted thee

For guidance. Thou must choose and choose alone.

(Sc. iv, p. 208)

No sanctions are imposed, he is merely put in possession of the facts and told the consequences of his choice. His choice of the pains of hell in preference to isolation from God is the reversal of his former choice, and underlines the concept that the paramount importance of moral choice is to the individual. Society is composed of individuals, and Faustus' misguided attempts to use diabolic means to remedy social evils are shown as abortive because they ignore essential human nature—good cannot be imposed, it must be sought by the individual. Margaret and Wagner enable the playwright to demonstrate the interdependence of human beings and the emotional repercussions of their individual choices.

All this is expressed in language appropriate to the situation, which varies with the occasion: the angelic and diabolic characters address each other with 'thee's' and 'thou's', while Mephistopheles addresses Faustus with the modern 'you'. Scriptural language and legal terminology are alike employed to good effect in the courtroom, but modern language clarifies the issues at stake in Faustus' original choice—as when the voice of the beggar causes Faustus to hesitate to grasp power, he succumbs to the more subtle temptation to do evil that good may come, to accept ill-gotten wealth in order to alleviate suffering. His temptation could be seen as the reverse of Eliot's Becket—to do the wrong deed for a right reason.

Nor is humour absent—as when Mephistopheles answers Faustus' complaint that the image of Helen (Sc. i, p. 138) is 'damned juggling tricks' with 'What did you expect when you called ME up?'

*Christ's Comet*, Christopher Hassall's play which separated the two by Dorothy Sayers in order of presentation, also deals with mundane power politics (of Herod and Rome) and links them with the divine plan in the person of Barabbas at the foot of Golgotha (II. 1.)

Where Herod sees the star as 'a kind of carrot in the sky, to lure credulous asses over the world's edge' (I. iii) Artaban, the fourth Wise Man, sees his life as a journey (I. iii), and his quest involves the care of others as an expression of his vision.

His reward is to see the events at Bethlehem and Golgotha as one, the consequence of divine choice, the Incarnation, but his trial is that his vision is not shared: his fellow-potentates see his

choice as a betrayal of their common quest because of their limited vision—

What's frankincense

Without Sumerian chariots three abreast ? (I. iv)

Artaban's reply sustains the warlike imagery. His choice, as expressed in the same scene, is, as always, an individual one, to be true to his own vision despite prolonged and lonely trial. His triumph is the reward of patience and endurance in the face of uncomprehending 'commonsense'.

The staging of the final scene is an attempt to represent the theme of the play's subtitle—"The story of a thirty years' journey which began and ended on the same day" in visual terms. Artaban's journey to Bethlehem ends at Calvary, but the two are one, as the Angel explains:

..... by your witnessing the End and winning  
Faith in your heart, you witness the Beginning. (II. iii)

Thus the supernatural character in this play does not present the choice, instead he clarifies its implications and consequences. The universal message is conveyed in terms of the single central character's reactions to those around him and the valuation put upon these reactions: 'Good man, the Lord hath seen your suffering.'

Laurie Lee's first stage direction in *Peasants' Priest* indicates his method of linking his characters with his audience. The two Masks are 'the commentators, link-boys and stage setters of the Play.'

In the prologue, as in the play, the language is that of a poet, employed to express a poet's vision:

Take any square of parched or poppied earth,

.....  
and Man will find it, nail it to his shoe  
and call it home.

(Prologue, p. 2)

Unfortunately, it is not a completely successful dramatic vision, in that the playwright has failed to shape his subject material (the Peasants' Revolt of 1381) to a thematic point, and thus to obey Martin Browne's dictum that 'the business of the poet with history is not to reconstruct its actualities, but to interpret its eternal significance',<sup>6</sup> but he has put into poetic and original language the aspirations and resentments which led to a violent popular uprising:

Your temple shall be freed,  
and every peasant shall become its priest (Scene Four, p. 31)

What are not made clear are the significant social consequences. We are introduced to the theme of conflict between the values represented by Sudbury and Balle, between authority and revolt, and of the religious abuses Balle flings in the face of the Friar

<sup>6</sup> 1935 Souvenir Programme of the Friends' Festival

(Scene Two), and we see the political power-game of the nobles in which the young king is a pawn:

They ask for rights and deeds of liberation:

..... What we give

we can take back again

(Scene Five, p. 37)

Balle has no chance against such cynicism, and when at the end he chooses to take the fatal consequences of his leadership by refusing to flee, it is an act both of expiation for the suffering caused his followers and of resignation to apparent failure, together with the hint of knowledge that the flame of revolt he tended will smoulder on, and a spark rekindle it in the future:

The slave once free, though for a day,  
has sucked from that sweet time such happy air  
shall keep him ever free, though he be chained  
far heavier than before.

His final speech reveals his recognition that violence begets violence, whether it is peasants destroying an over-elaborate church ritual (Scene Two, p. 18) or brutal murder of a peaceable demonstrator (Scene Six, p. 44). The violence, the broken royal promises, all are sadly summed up in the last brief moment before Balle is hustled to his doom:

..... What have we won?  
Like foxes creeping from our holes, we've proved

That there's still heaven to be won on earth  
when we've the trick of love to win it.

So with that lesson learnt, let's back to darkness,  
to hide in holes till faith shall let us out.

(Scene Six, p. 47)

Notwithstanding the comment of Sir Bernard Miles, the original Balle, that 'it played well', *Peasants' Priest* is the Canterbury play in which the final note of hope is sounded least confidently, and in which personal integrity, particularly that of the young king after Blackheath, is left most in doubt.

*Thor, With Angels*, like the next play newly-written for the Friends, *The Makers of Violence*, deals with the clash of creeds, but while the latter work is based on the documented historic fact of Alphege's murder, Thor is the only Canterbury play based on neither fact nor legend. It is Christopher Fry's idea of what the introduction of Christianity may have meant to people at the time, and leaves the modern audience to ponder on what it should mean to people now. The dramatist concerns himself with the choice between old and new means of expressing religious faith, and in this play the choice is to some extent involuntary (Cymen's 'possession' in battle). The final juxtaposition, achieved by the return of Cymen from St. Augustine's first preaching of Christ crucified to discover the horror has been re-enacted in his own farmyard, placed the eternal choice in the context of temporal events.

Colgrin enables the audience to see the consequences of refusing to exercise choice—he wants to be ‘horizontal and completely unconscious’ (p. 117). His is the sin of sloth, and his moral rot is symbolised by his sword, which, denied its proper function of defending the household, is demeaned into a support for wet washing, with the consequent risk of rust, just as Faustus’ soul, denied its function of prompting right action, was compared in the Sayers’ play to a sword to which similar treatment had been meted out. (Sc. IV, p. 198/9). In Fry’s play, however, the sword is utilised for a domestic purpose, of benefit to the household, by Colgrin’s wife Anna, who not only adapts a cliché into ‘The farm’s a hive of indolence’ but could be said to obey scripture in employing a sword, not as a ploughshare, but its feminine equivalent, a washing line.

The spiritual enlightenment her husband has experienced is beyond Clodesuida’s understanding; she is set in the old ways, and too preoccupied with domestic matters to question them. Quichelm’s first speech of the play (p. 101) epitomises her as ‘Wodenfearing’, and this not only indicates her character but establishes the pattern of language employed by the Jutes, particularly their bad language—scurfscratcher, frog-man, fen-fiend occur a few lines later. Also established with speed and economy, before any sinister connotations emerge, is the everyday acceptance of superstition and rite—Martina knew her brother would return because ‘the cows this morning were all facing north’ (p. 102) but could not be there to greet him because she had to go to ‘early rite’ with the other women of the household.

Cymen’s entrance is prepared for by Quichelm’s story of his father’s strange behaviour in battle and his even stranger taking of a prisoner, the gentle Briton, Hoel, who represents the alien (and therefore, to some minds, a threat) both by his race and his creed, and who suffers for both.

Cymen’s possession has shifted his viewpoint, ‘forced a third strange eye into my head’ (p. 111) and his old certainties are no longer so sure. When he finally rebels against the old gods and calls upon them to answer his act of rebellion in throwing down the altar (p. 138) the dramatically effective answer from the true God summons him, by the human means of the Messenger, to hear more of Him. What he hears makes him gentle even in the midst of the horror to which he returns:

. . . . while I leave one muscle of my strength  
Undisturbed, or hug one coin of ease  
Or private peace while the huge debt of pain  
Mounts over all the earth . . .  
I have no right or reason  
To raise a cry against this blundering cruelty  
Of man.

(P. 153)

*The Makers of Violence* is another statement about a vulnerable victim of the conflict between the way of love and that of violence. Robert Gittings has packed his play with wisdom about the dual nature of man, the conflict of his motives, and the nature of leadership, among other things. Alphege smiles  
to see

The mixed malleable compound of man; how he  
Can be so wise for others, and so wrong  
When he confronts himself.

(Act 1, p. 37)

He refuses ransom because 'man is not a commodity' (p. 20) and because he believes, in Robert Gittings' phrase, 'that a Divine purpose has placed him in the camp of his enemies'.<sup>7</sup> He expounds this belief with beauty and clarity in his answer to Canute before the entire camp (P. 47-49) until the abrupt reversal of mood brought about by the arrow. The Archbishop's insight does not end there, however. He lays the blame for violence at a most unexpected door—his own, among others:

I am

Guilty of the worst fault of those who work  
For peace, the fault of those who speak and preach  
Without the deed, who say and do not do.  
They are the makers of violence.

(P. 56)

Because of this, and to stop the endless feuding and revenge, he offers himself as victim, but again his climax is interrupted, this time by the arrival of his ransom, mistakenly brought by his faithful monk, Stigand. His use of it enables Olaf to see the truth about Canute, and Stigand to see

. . . . . the danger of  
the world to be the cheat it is

(P. 67)

Furthermore, the Archbishop's clarity of vision leads him to counsel Olaf to

. . . . . do rightly all that  
You would have done wrongly

(P. 67)

the right deed for the right reason yet again. The justification of Alphege's choice is the fact that Olaf is enabled to see clearly to seek his own way instead of the way of revenge.

Robert Gittings has produced a play in which action and argument are splendidly integrated. The differing viewpoints of the rival leaders ensure an atmosphere of tension throughout, in which violence is ever on the verge of breaking out, yet the play is a close-packed exposition of ideas and well-knit argument.

Hugh Ross Williamson, like Christopher Fry, delays the entrance of his central character in order to put the audience in possession of relevant facts about him, so that when he does enter he and Caraffa can immediately get to the crux of the situation.

<sup>7</sup> Note on the Play, Canterbury Cathedral Festival programme, 1951

remarkably like that of Becket in that Church and State appear irreconcilable.

Themes which occurred in other Canterbury plays are also restated: Alphege's statement about the guilt of the intellectual is very close to Pole's answer to the question 'Who are the traitors?' (I. i., p. 16)

Before the tribunal of God's mercy, should not we, the shepherds, make ourselves responsible for all the ills that now burden the flock of Christ?

Pole's courage and personal example, again like Alphege's, convert Vaughan, the man who intends him harm. Like Stigand, Pole's friends, in the first scene, mistakenly try to protect him.

Priuli, like Charles Williams' *Figura Rerum*, addresses the audience direct, and like Laurie Lee's *Masks*, links the action by relating intervening events.

Pole's address to the citizens of Canterbury, like Becket's sermon at the mid-point of Eliot's play, sharpens and clarifies the issues at stake, and the crowd, as in many of these plays, notably *The Zeal of Thy House* and *Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury* makes good use of the rear entrance, the central aisle, and the space at the foot of the steps leading to the platform stage.

Like Cranmer, Becket and Langton, Pole is caught between the opposing claims of Pope and Sovereign. Mary Tudor herself draws attention to another similarity between Pole and Becket:

Thomas Becket was ordained priest one day and  
Archbishop of Canterbury the next. (II. ii. P. 64)

and in the following scene (P. 66) the narrator Priuli refers to Pole's

double fight: against sedition in England where men called him persecutor because of his justice, and against Caraffa at Rome who called him heretic because of his mercy.

As throughout the play, the serenity and integrity of the Cardinal is dramatically contrasted in the last scene with the violence of Vaughan, representing the violence of the times in which Pole lived.

Just as in Ross Williamson's play the Cardinals Pole and Caraffa carry on the debate concerning the principles involved with Vittoria Colonna and Mary Tudor, while Richard Vaughan enables us to see the reactions of less exalted (and less informed) individuals, so in *A Durable Fire* Patric Dickinson also clarifies the conflict between the claims of the temporal and eternal, church and state, political policies and suffering individuals by the discussion between Innocent and Langton, with Old William performing Vaughan's function. The play was written for presentation in 1962, the year the Magna Carta Society held its triennial service of thanksgiving in Canterbury Cathedral, hence the choice of subject.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> 'The poet's commission was to celebrate dramatically Archbishop Langton as the mediator between the Church's rule of Christendom and the signs of awakening nationalism' Laurence Irving, *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 57, October 1961, p. 5

These two last Canterbury plays seem strikingly similar: both open with discussions between friends, but in the latter case these are two of the principal protagonists in their student years, not only informing the audience of their characters and the background against which the action is to take place, but placing the dilemma which confronted Archbishop Stephen Langton firmly in the context of contemporary politics, and indicating the strong parallels with the situation in which Becket found himself. The opening intellectual argument states the theme, Old William and the events with which he is associated demonstrate the repercussions in terms of everyday life, while John represents the political standpoint. The publicity of Messrs. Chatto & Windus sums up the play admirably:

The theme is basically political and has not dated. John, a power-politician, a man without belief, scruple or morality, is pitted against the great Pope Innocent, whose aim was to unify the temporal see of Christendom. Between them Langton struggles with his loyalty to his temporal master, John, whom he despises, and his loyalty to his spiritual overlord Innocent, whom he loves. The question is England or Rome, God or the King.

Langton's struggle to find a way to satisfy the opposing claims is revealed in his closing speech as all the more courageous because

There was a shrivelling moment  
I wanted to give in, to let them stew,  
And live alone in a cell. (Epilogue, P. 90)

but by the end of the play he can look back upon his past achievement with satisfaction, and know his future course.

This is a play carried forward by the cut-and-thrust of argument, illuminated by vivid character delineation, and enlivened by the occasional burst of action, as in the election scene, or those scenes in which John is involved, but 'Mr. Dickinson contrives his play so that our concern for Langton's spirit as opposed to the substance of his achievement is sustained . . . '<sup>9</sup>

The message conveyed in these plays by so many and varied writers has been remarkably consistent: *Murder* combined the two themes which persisted throughout—the struggle in the conscience of the individual issuing in action, and the consequences to himself and society. The plays are a dramatic expression of the ideals for which the cathedral itself stands still in stony witness, and those who celebrated its history to help preserve its fabric also interpreted its message to their own age. Let Martin Browne have the final word:

<sup>9</sup> Horace Spence, note of the play in *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 57, October 1961, p. 17-21.



*The Enigmatic Clock in St. Andrew's Chapel*



*Dean Bell, Archbishop Cosmo Lang and  
the Rev. Alex Sargent (Chaplain)  
outside the Old Palace, 1929*



*Canon D. I. Hill and the young Friends  
on top of Bell Harry Tower*



Festival drama has produced something for English drama by combining the two things out of which drama was born -the worship of God and the words of the poet.<sup>10</sup>

JONN B. BARRATT

<sup>10</sup> E. Martin Browne, *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 44, p. 9 & 10.  
Note on *The Zeal of Thy House*

## LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES

### (a) PRIMARY

- Patric Dickinson *A Durable Fire* (London 1962)  
T. S. Eliot *Murder in the Cathedral* (London 1938)  
Christopher Fry *Three Plays* (London 1960)  
Robert Gittings *The Makers of Violence* (London 1951)  
Christopher Hassall *Christ's Comet* (London 1958)  
Laurie Lee *Peasants' Priest* (Canterbury 1947)  
Dorothy L. Sayers *Four Sacred Plays* (London 1959)  
Dorothy L. Sayers *The Zeal of Thy House* (London 1949)  
Charles Williams *Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury* (London 1936)  
Hugh Ross Williamson *His Eminence of England* (London 1953)

### (b) SECONDARY

- Anon. "Peasants' Priest" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1947) XLII 1  
Anon. "Thor, With Angels" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1948) XLIII 13 - 15  
Anon. "Festival Plays" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1951) XLVI 19 - 20  
Anon. "Notes on the Festival" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1951) XLVI 20 - 21  
Anon. "The Makers of Violence" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1951) XLVI 14 - 16  
Anon. "Canterbury Festival 1962" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1961) LVI 13 - 15  
Anon. "Murder in the Cathedral" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1964) LIX 25  
G. K. A. Bell "A Note on Festivals" *Annual Report of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral* (Canterbury 1960) XXXIII 15  
E. Martin Browne *The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays* (Cambridge 1970)  
E. Martin Browne "Thomas Stearnes Eliot an Appreciation" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1965) LX 9 - 11  
E. Martin Browne "Drama in the Friends' Festivals" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1977) LXXI 38 - 40  
E. Martin Browne "Producer's Note" on *Murder in the Cathedral* 1935 Souvenir Programme  
Laurence Irving "A Durable Fire" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1962) LVII 5 - 7  
Derek Ingram Hill "Fifty Years of the Friends and Their Festivals" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1977) LXXI 35 - 37  
Derek Ingram Hill "Dry Bones Come Alive" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1978) LXXII 18 - 21  
Paula Neuss "The Danse Macabre" Unpublished  
Horace Spence "What More is There to Say?" *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* (Canterbury 1962) LVII 17 - 21  
Geoffrey Staines "A Durable Fire" *Annual Report of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral* (Canterbury 1962) XXXV 13

## CANTERBURY AND EXETER : A MUSICAL LINK

An Elizabethan mural monument, one of the minor but still attractive sights of Exeter Cathedral, also has a bearing on Canterbury and throws light on the web of patronage and influence which made it possible for a musically talented youth in his teens to hold posts, simultaneously, in both cathedrals.

The monument, whose relief shows a young man in academic dress kneeling before a chamber organ, with a lute and other musical instruments behind him, commemorates Matthew Godwin who died, aged seventeen years and five months, in January of 1586; he must have been born in 1568. The inscription refers to him (in the genitive) as *Pius, Mitis, Ingeniosus*, and the coat of arms, *or two lions passant gardant sable, in a canton of the second three bezants and in chief a martlet gules*, shows that he was of the same family as Thomas Godwin, Dean of Canterbury and later Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Francis Godwin, a son of Thomas, who became a canon and subdean of Exeter, vicar of the rich chapter living of Heavitree just outside Exeter, and later Bishop of Llandaff and then of Hereford. The martlet shows that Matthew was his father's fourth son.

Matthew Godwin's musical record is that he obtained a degree, as Bachelor of Music at Oxford, in July 1585. He had already, since 1583, been joint organist at Canterbury. At some other time, and probably a few months before his early death, he obtained some musical post, perhaps as assistant organist, in the cathedral at Exeter. Whatever the exact nature of his duties in the two cathedrals, they caused the compiler of his epitaph to refer to him as *archimusicus* both at Canterbury and Exeter; he may have had some special responsibility for the care and training of the boy choristers. His death, as recorded on his monument at Exeter (where, presumably, he died but where no register entry survives of his burial) gave rise to feelings expressed in at least one sentimental set of verses, about Mozartian precocity followed by an almost Chattertonian death. The realities of his career, as heraldry and the known careers of Thomas and Francis Godwin suggest, are less romantic.

Thomas Godwin, who had been a fellow of Magdalen Hall at Oxford, obtained various livings early in Elizabeth I's reign and was also a Canon of Lincoln. In 1565 he became Dean of Christ Church at Oxford. Two years later he got his deanery at Canterbury, holding it till his promotion, in 1584, to the Bath and Wells bishopric. It would have been easy for him, as Dean of Canterbury, to appoint Matthew Godwin, if indeed the young musician was his fourth son, to be joint organist at Canterbury.

Another of Dean Godwin's sons, Francis Godwin who had been a student of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1586 became a canon of Exeter; he was also the son-in-law of John Wolton, bishop of the Devon diocese. Three years later, in his father-in-law's lifetime, he was made subdean. If, as seems almost certain, Matthew Godwin was his younger brother Francis could have used his

influence, along with sincere recommendations in favour of a gifted young musician, to get him his "archimusical" post in the Devon cathedral. The pity was that the teenage assistant organist only lived a few months more and, as his epitaph at Exeter says *hinc* (from Exeter) *ad caelos migravit*. But his mural monument, with no equivalent at Canterbury, effectively keeps Matthew Godwin's memory alive.

BRYAN LITTLE.

## ARCHBISHOP TAIT, 1811 - 1882

Dr. Archibald Campbell Tait, the 93rd Archbishop of Canterbury, died one hundred years ago on the 3rd of December, 1882. His death occurred early in the morning of Advent Sunday, and the news spread rapidly throughout Canterbury :

"... the mournful tolling of the bell at the Cathedral, known as Bell Harry, which is only brought into requisition as a notice of death on the occasion of the decease of a King or Queen or Archbishop caused a widespread feeling of deep sorrow, everyone appearing to comprehend, as if by instinct, that it was an announcement of the passing away of the Archbishop."<sup>1</sup>

A formal announcement came from the Dean, Dr. Robert Payne Smith, who occupied the Cathedral pulpit during the afternoon service and selected as his text Psalm 37, verse 37.

"Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace."

Tait is not one of the famous Archbishops, but he is widely acknowledged as the ablest of the nineteenth century primates, and a short biographical account of his ministry seems appropriate to mark the centenary of his death.

He was born in Edinburgh of Scottish Presbyterian stock, and after early academic success at Glasgow University, won a scholarship to Balliol College Oxford. He was confirmed into the Church of England and was ordained shortly after gaining a Balliol Fellowship. In 1842 he became Headmaster of Rugby School, succeeding the renowned Dr. Arnold at the age of thirty. He consolidated Arnold's reforming work and the school flourished under his management, but after a severe illness, Tait relinquished the post and became Dean of Carlisle. It caused some stir in ecclesiastical circles when he was subsequently elevated from this relatively obscure position to become Bishop of London, third in the hierarchy of the Church of England. Again, in 1868, on the death of Archbishop Longley, there was some surprise when Tait was offered the primacy of all England. It was rumoured that Queen Victoria strongly backed his appointment against the advice of Disraeli, then Prime Minister.

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, 4th December, 1882.

If Tait's ecclesiastical career was one of vaulting triumph, his personal life was beset with difficulties and tragedy. He had been born with club feet, and this defect was successfully, though agonisingly, remedied in adolescence by enclosing his feet for twenty four hours a day in tin boots. However, the greatest personal blow came in 1856 when he was Dean of Carlisle. During a five week period of March and April, five of Tait's daughters died during a scarlet fever epidemic. It was said that Tait himself had introduced the disease into the Deanery after visiting the sick. This tragedy aroused great sympathy for Dr. and Mrs. Tait, and it was in these circumstances that he was created Bishop of London. Tait's health was never robust and he suffered several strokes during his primacy, the first only a few months after taking office. In 1878 his spirits were broken by the deaths of his only son, a twenty-eight year old clergyman, and his beloved wife, Catherine, who died during a holiday to his native Scotland. It is said that Tait became an old man overnight, but that he bore this, and all his tribulations with true Christian courage.

The greatest problem which Tait faced during his primacy concerned the unity of the Church of England. For much of the nineteenth century, High Churchmanship had enjoyed a renaissance which emanated from the Tractarian movement of the 1830s. The leaders of Tractarianism, Keble, Pusey and Newman (who became a Roman Catholic in 1845) were based at Oxford, and exerted considerable influence on many of the young proleptic clergymen who graduated there in the mid nineteenth century. Oxford buzzed with religious controversy, and it is interesting that Tait himself first came to public prominence as a co-author of a criticism of one of Newman's tracts. The High Church revival did not always gain approval amongst the worshipping public, and Queen Victoria was known to be antipathetic.

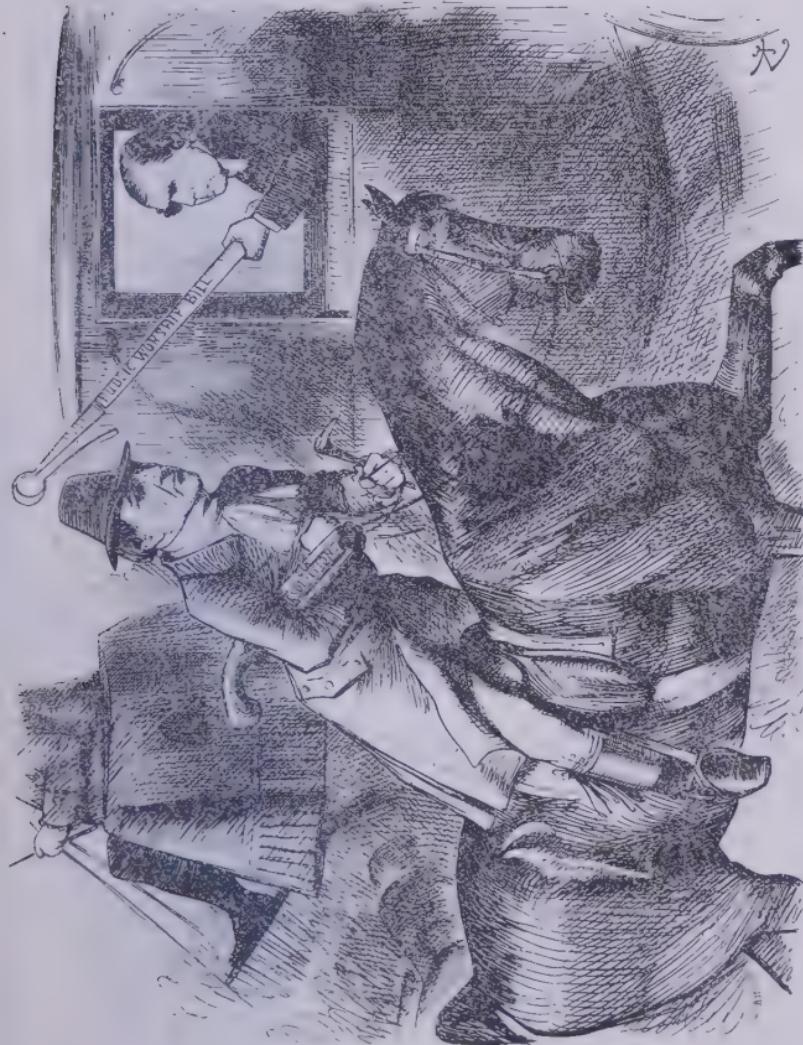
By the 1870's, attention was focussed not so much on the theology of the High Church movement, but upon its expression in worship. "Tractarianism" was giving way to "Ritualism". There was considerable interest and voluminous debate on the use of certain rituals by a minority of clergymen. Mid-Victorian passions were roused to fever pitch by these practices. Was it correct for altars to be decked with candles and frontals? Should wafer bread be used for Communion? Should priests wear ornate garments? And, above all, should the priest face eastwards, with his back to the congregation, during the prayer of consecration? In one of the more bizarre episodes, one clergyman was arraigned in the ecclesiastical courts primarily for suspending a stuffed white dove (representing the Holy Ghost) above his altar on Whit Sunday.

Tait, a firm Protestant since his childhood Presbyterian days, was unsympathetic to High Churchmanship, and in 1874 introduced into Parliament the Public Worship Regulation Act. Queen

## "SECOND THOUGHTS ARE BEST."

Turn'd up he rode to the coach-window,  
And his six-shoot'r he propped in;  
Says the Archibald, "Sirr, is ergo ergo,  
This is the bold 'I' virus."

"Second thoughts are best," quoth the Highwayman,  
There's something in what you say,  
So he bethed his barge, and be turned his nag,  
And quietly rode away.





“BLACK SHEEP.”

Victoria herself was a moving force behind this measure, which was essentially designed to give more power to diocesan bishops over the clergymen, and in particular to enable them to discipline those priests given to ritualistic excess. The passage of the bill through Parliament was not smooth, since Disraeli was lukewarm, and Gladstone, then leader of the Liberal opposition and a High Churchman, was hostile. The parliamentary success of the bill owed much to Tait's tenacious political acumen. The two cartoons shown here were published in *Punch* in the spring and summer of 1874, and illustrate Tait's uncompromising attitude. In the second cartoon, the highwayman represents Gladstone, who had threatened the bill with a speech containing six resolutions. As the debate progressed it became clear that the majority of the Liberal party would vote against Gladstone, and he withdrew his resolutions.

However, the Public Worship Act, which became law in 1875, was not a success. Ardent Ritualists were able to discover loopholes, though in several instances particularly intransigent clergymen were actually gaoled. This arose because certain bitter opponents of Ritualism invoked an old statute under which the penalty for contempt of an ecclesiastical court was imprisonment. This extreme penalty—which was certainly not the intention of the Act, or the wishes of Tait—elicited a great deal of public sympathy for the Ritualist cause.

It is unfortunate that Tait's reign as Archbishop should have been so marked by these acrimonious disputes concerning the unity of the Church of England. By the 1880s, the Established Church was clearly losing influence within the nation. The controversy over Ritualism was undoubtedly a major reason for this loss of respect, but the Church was also losing ground in areas of society where its authority had previously been unquestioned: in schools, universities and in Parliament.

Paradoxically, a powerful and influential primate led the Church during these ailing years. Tait commanded enormous popular affection and respect, and at his death he received generous, even effusive tribute from all wings of the Church. Burial in Westminster Abbey was offered, but after consultation with Queen Victoria, his family declined, and, as Tait wished, he was buried in Addington churchyard.

A few years after his death a comprehensive biography<sup>2</sup> in two volumes was published. The senior author was Randall Davidson, Tait's chaplain since 1877. Davidson, who had married one of Tait's three surviving daughters, became Archbishop of Canterbury himself from 1903 to 1928.

P. W. L. CLOUGH.

<sup>2</sup> R. T. Davidson & W. Benham: Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury. (MacMillan, 1891).

# THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEATH IN THE BECKET CIRCLE

The most famous of deaths in the high middle ages—and by far the best documented one—is the death of Thomas Becket; his murder in the cathedral church of Canterbury, in the afternoon of the 29th of December, 1170. Although the actual murder of the archbishop came as a shock to all Christendom, thoughts concerning such a possibility had occupied the minds of Thomas and his friends already for years. For this there is ample evidence in the several Lives of St. Thomas written within 10 or 15 years after the murder, as well as in the primary sources; the letters written before the murder had happened. The case of Thomas Becket therefore offers a singular opportunity to check the attitude towards death—in theory as well as in practice—within the highly intellectual climate of an archbishop's curia which counted men like John of Salisbury among its members.

Reflections about death in the Becket group are not restricted to the years of controversy, however. The background for later thoughts already appears in the earliest source on Thomas Becket—which is in fact rarely recognized as such—in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. This famous “statemen's book” has been endlessly analyzed under various aspects. But, strangely enough, nobody has ever asked what its concrete significance may have been for the addressee, Chancellor Thomas Becket, or what it may tell us, directly and indirectly, about Thomas himself. One reason for this may be old bias concerning Becket's allegedly poor knowledge of Latin. Consequently, the dedication of the *Policraticus* to Thomas the Chancellor is regarded only as a formality securing a high patron for book and author. However, any closer look into the text of the *Policraticus* discloses that it is written, first and foremost, for this single man, Thomas Becket. It is he and he alone who is addressed again and again in the course of the text; very directly, on occasion even aggressively, and sometimes with allusions which are hard to understand or with interest for any other supposed reader. Consequently, the topics dealt with in the *Policraticus* must have had a special interest for or bearing on Thomas—at least in John's eyes.<sup>1</sup>

Death is only a minor topic in the *Policraticus*. It is reflected on in the second and the fifth books, in two different contexts: once in connection with astrology and fortune-telling, and once in the discussion of the Commonwealth and its justices.<sup>2</sup> In both places, however, the reflection concentrates on one and the same rather special aspect of death, that is: suicide. Starting with famous examples from biblical and pagan history, John makes it clear for the reader that for a Christian it is absolutely illicit to put an end to one's own life. No exemptions whatsoever can be allowed, not even those admitted by Saint Jerome and other Fathers of the Church, who praised those who provoke death because their chastity and honour are at stake. Suicide is

desertion from the military service of life which we owe to the Supreme Lord. Worse, suicide is the death of those in utter despair, who by desperation have already suffered death of mind before putting an end to their corporeal life: "iam mortuorum mors est".

On the other hand, John himself expresses his admiration and understanding for great men of pagan history like Diogenes and Cato, who put themselves to death in order to evade dishonour or an adverse fate thrust upon them by an outside force. In John's eyes, these pagan heroes are in a sense excused because they did not yet know the truth of Divine Revelation. But for pagans also the rule holds that it is contrary to reason to postpone certainties to uncertainties and to throw away the best one has. John's final verdict applies to everybody equally: "Nemo eorum qui mortem provocat excusabilis est". More excusable are those who withdraw from death when it threatened, because there may still be hope to evade it. And to convince his reader of this, John lures him into the amusing story of Andronicus and the lion (that is the tale of a slave who was condemned to be thrown to the wild beasts, but rescued by a lion whose paw he had healed years ago in the desert).

John continues his discussion of suicide by a positive assertion of the right attitude towards death:<sup>3</sup> Don't try to inquire into the future by means of oracles and the like, "for God is able to promote beyond your own care what he has determined and ordained for you . . . . Truth itself orders us not to fear death, but to be prepared for it at any hour, so that we, not trusting in the duration of our life, may be the more eager to cultivate honesty and virtue. Death is the necessary burden put upon corrupt nature, for corruption is the origin of death. Take away corruption, pursue the integrity of a pure and virtuous life. Already you have entered the road of immortality and seized a sort of share (instalment?) of your divinity. Seized, I say,—or merely received? To put it more honestly: you have received as well as seized it, for it does not depend upon one's own willing or running, but alone on God's mercy . . . . (Rom. 9, 16). Nothing is more certain than death, nothing more uncertain than its hour. It is on no account to be feared like an evil, but when it comes, to be accepted gratefully like the end of evils. One thing only is to be fled from with all mental and physical powers. You ask what it be? Shame, and every aspect of dishonour. For they make death not the end of evils but rather the connection between former and future ones. To flee from this, no oracles or divinations are necessary. More faithful and useful will be the counsel of your own reason."<sup>4</sup>

A similar set of thoughts about the right contemplation of and sober readiness for death, impressively contrasted with fear of death, fleeing to astrology, despair, and suicide, appears in John's *Entheticus de Dogmate Philosophorum*.<sup>5</sup> This long poem, probably written shortly before the *Policraticus*, already embraces

many of the topics of John's prose works, and is also closely connected with Thomas Becket. John's insistence on these special aspects of death, and the strong language he uses, suggest that he felt some urgency to do so. Thomas had already had a frightening experience with death when as a youth he had fallen into a millstream and had been rescued just before being crushed by the millwheel. But we know nothing about the impact of this adventure on his mind. A tendency to react with despair to a threatening situation is hinted at in a remark in John of Salisbury's *Life of St. Thomas*.<sup>6</sup> There John writes that Thomas's earliest months as Chancellor to Henry II were seriously troubled by so many difficulties, vexations, and intrigues from malicious courtiers, that—as Thomas himself complained to his friends and to Archbishop Theobald at Canterbury—there were days when he was weary of life and brooded about how he could flee out of this hell without infamy. Somewhat later John characterizes Thomas the Chancellor as being a man more inclined to inquire about the future than one could easily explain: “vir experientissimus, et bene solitus plusquam facile dici posset futura metiri”. In his military exploits, however, Thomas faced danger without flinching, as all his biographers agree.

So the years before the conflict show us John of Salisbury as an upright orthodox preacher of a balanced Christian attitude towards death which is supported by certain stoic elements. By means of John's admonitions and reports, however, we can see in Thomas a different mentality which implied fear of some sinister fate, an inclination towards despair, and perhaps even the admittance of suicide as a possibility.

When the conflict between Thomas, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, and King Henry II broke out in 1163, death soon became a rather real and imminent threat. The several biographers of St. Thomas unanimously state, that at the Council of Clarendon in January 1164 it was because of fear for himself and some of his fellow-bishops that Thomas finally yielded to the royal wrath and assented to the notorious Constitutions. What precisely was to be feared is termed “imprisonment or worse” (Herbert of Bosham), “mutilation” (John of Salisbury), and “perhaps even death” (William Fitzstephen, *Thomas Saga*). But there are also indications that Thomas yielded mostly because of fear of a definite break between the king and himself—a catastrophe of both political and personal dimensions.

At the Council of Northampton 7 months later, threats of imprisonment, mutilation and death were not only fearfully whispered among the participants but even shouted about by angry royal barons. The examples of Bishop Odo of Bayeux and Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury were recalled to mind; they had been imprisoned—the latter permanently—by William the Conqueror.<sup>7</sup> And the gruesome story of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Henry II's father, who had had Bishop Arnulf of Séez and his clerks castrated, was mentioned with sneering approval within

earshot of Thomas.<sup>8</sup> According to the well informed Garnier of Pont-Saint-Maxence,<sup>9</sup> Thomas was also threatened expressis verbis with other variants of mutilation, such as plucking out of the eyes and cutting out of the tongue. Those threats, appalling as they are for modern ears, seem never to have been taken seriously by modern historians. For Thomas and his contemporaries, however, they must have had a formidable immediacy. Mutilation was then a very common form of punishment.<sup>10</sup> John of Salisbury bears witness to this in an ironically meant but in fact prophetic passage of the *Policraticus*, in which he warns Thomas of dire consequences, if he should dare to speak out in favour of the Divine Law: It would be fortunate for him if he were not mutilated and thrust into prison, or banished into exile.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, throughout the Middle Ages mutilation was a common means of getting rid of men in high ecclesiastical or royal office without the strain of murder, for a mutilated bishop was *eo ipso* disqualified for office.<sup>12</sup> Henry's wild attacks on Thomas at Northampton obviously aimed at crushing the archbishop so completely, that he would resign his office into the king's hand. But Thomas refused to surrender a spiritual office to secular power. All the more urgent must have been his fear, that violence might force him into resignation. According to Edward Grim, Thomas was terrified at the news that some of the king's men were conspiring to do away with him at Northampton. But, as the archbishop himself later confessed, more than death he feared an imprisonment which would deprive him while still alive of the liberty to speak out for the cause of the Church. "And", so Grim continues, "this was his main fear surely not only then but always".<sup>13</sup> This is a quite significant testimony, given by a biographer with a strong personal interest in Thomas. From the outbreak of the conflict, violence against the archbishop might have taken the shape of imprisonment and mutilation as well as that of death. Of this choice, death was not the worst to come, as Thomas felt. Confronted with these ambiguous threats at Northampton, he fled overseas to France.

For Thomas flight was at that moment the only means at hand to escape being silenced. But it had the strain of being a flight for his life as well. This was realized by friend and foe. The archbishop and his supporters met the need for justification by citing biblical precedents as for instance St. Paul's flight from Damascus.<sup>14</sup> That Thomas felt the stain sharply even after several years, can be seen from his own remark, in the heated discussion with the four barons shortly before the murder, that he had once fled—a timid priest—but that never again would he desert his church.<sup>15</sup>

In his French exile, Thomas could feel safe for the time being. But as soon as plans for a reconciliation took shape, the question arose: what sort of security could be asked from the king in case Thomas returned to England, where he would again be in Henry's power. It is in this connection, that the notion of martyrdom was touched upon for the first time. John of Salisbury again took

up the pen in summer 1166 to make some suggestions to Thomas, encouraging him, if need be, to accept living among his enemies.

"Perhaps", he continues, "someone will indict my counsel for rashness, since it exposes your head to the enemy's swords, and will say that it is more fitting and prudent to wait till you have completed your penance, since in the knowledge of your sins you are not yet ready for martyrdom. To this I reply: There is no one who is not ready, save him who is not willing to suffer for the faith and the works of faith: be he boy or man, Jew or Gentile, Christian or infidel, man or woman, matters not. Whoever suffers for justice, is a martyr; that is, bears witness to justice, proclaims the cause of Christ."<sup>16</sup>

John thus defines martyrdom as suffering for justice. It obviously includes not only death, but any suffering of violence for justice's sake. The willingness to suffer for justice makes the martyr, not the worthiness. After this bold advance, John draws back, playing down the actuality of the question: The king will not grant reconciliation anyway.<sup>17</sup>

It was not only John of Salisbury, who brought up the notion of martyrdom as a possible goal of Thomas's life. Among those of the English clergy who tried to play on both sides and who kept a cool distance from Thomas, the matter was also a topic of conversation. William Fitzstephen, who stayed in England during Thomas's exile, gives a report of a meeting of some bishops and many clerks where Robert of Melun, Bishop of Hereford, formerly a famous teacher at the Paris schools, propounded the question: "If it happens (God forbid!) that the archbishop should be killed in the cause of ecclesiastical freedom, shall we count him as a martyr? To be a martyr is to die for the faith." He thus implied, that the issue of *libertas ecclesiae* was not enough to make a martyr. One of those present, however, took up the challenge and argued for Thomas's being a potential martyr, because, beside faith, there could be several other reasons for martyrdom, for instance truth, or freedom of the Church, if only God's cause was at stake.<sup>18</sup> This sort of school debate about the qualification of the anticipated death of a man who was still living surely has a cynical note for modern ears, less so perhaps for the 12th century with its passion for scholarly distinction and debate.

It may be asked, what was Thomas's own reaction to these thoughts that were circulating about him. His many letters from the years of exile give plenty of evidence that he, faithful to John of Salisbury's exhortations, was ready to put down his life for his cause, if need be. But these repeated utterances were theory, even rhetoric, although no less honest for that reason. How oppressive the fear to have to face violence was for Thomas, can be perceived more immediately through some of his dreams, nightmares which he told the one or the other of his friends in order to get rid of the horror. In these dreams Thomas saw himself again on trial before Henry, the barons and bishops, and

fiercely attacked by the hostile crowd, who with outstretched fingers threatened to dig out his eyes; then knights rushed in cutting off the crown of his head. Or Henry had Thomas seized and his head skinned, but he felt no pain and laughed, which made the king furious; and Thomas woke up, terrified.<sup>20</sup> These nightmares have very much the character of authenticity. They again show Thomas's preoccupation with the threat of mutilation.

The psychological pressure of the years of exile, and especially Thomas's disappointing experiences with the Pope and the Roman curia, left their traces in his correspondence as well. There are utterances of despair, also some touching death, when Thomas realizes that forces at the papal curia regard him as a hindrance which should get out of their way. If life is worth so little, why not simply put an end to it, Thomas writes to a cardinal.<sup>21</sup> John of Salisbury, on the other hand, better off in exile than Thomas as he finally has what he always desired: free time to pursue his scholarly studies, John expresses it more positively using Juvenal's words: "I believe it to be basest wickedness to set life before honour, and for life's sake to lose the reason for living."<sup>22</sup> It is honour which has to be preserved at all costs, not life.

Thoughts about death assumed a new concreteness in the Becket circle when, after several abortive conferences, finally in late 1169 a reconciliation between Thomas and Henry came into sight. Henry, pressed hard by the Pope with the threat of an interdict if he would not quickly make peace with his archbishop, dropped all conditions which had been unacceptable and declared himself ready to receive him into his grace again. He refused, however, to give Thomas the kiss of peace as a pledge of sincerity. This made the mediators between king and archbishop as well as Thomas and his friends suspicious. One of Thomas's clerks, alluding to the chapel of the martyrdom of Saint-Denis where the conference had been held, said to Thomas's face that only through his martyrdom would the Church gain peace. "If only she would be freed through my blood", answered Thomas. He agreed with his clerks, that he could not refuse the king's offer only because the pledge for his personal security had not been given. He had to accept for the sake of his church and the souls committed to his care, even if the way would lead into prison or death. There is no trace of enthusiasm for martyrdom in Herbert of Bosham's report of this discourse, rather an atmosphere of disillusioned soberness.<sup>23</sup>

When the reconciliation between Thomas and Henry finally took place in July 1170 at Fréteval in the Touraine, the exiles indulged in a mild euphoria. But the evasive attitude of the king who still refused the kiss of peace, and the discouraging reports from the archbishop's envoys in England, where his most bitter enemies held the positions of power and his friends did not dare a whisper, let the shadows fall again, and this time definitely. In October 1170 Thomas told the Pope in a letter that he planned

to return to England now, but "ad pacem an ad poenam nobis incertum est, sed divinitus ordinatum quae sors nos excepturabit".<sup>24</sup> About the same time Thomas wrote his last letter to Henry, a moving document and really a farewell-letter, full of forebodings, and with the far-sighted warning, that Henry would be held responsible if violence should be done to him. After complaints about the barons still holding the possessions of Canterbury and threatening to deprive the archbishop of his life before he has eaten a whole loaf of bread in England, Thomas continues: "It is plain now, that the holy Church of Canterbury, the mother in Christ of the Britons, is perishing because of the hatred directed at me. Therefore, rather than let her perish, I shall, with God's grace, expose my head to the blows of Ranulf and his fellow-persecutors of the Church. I am ready not only to die for Christ, but to endure a thousand deaths and all manner of torments, if He by His grace will grant me the strength to suffer. I had wished to see you once more, my lord; but necessity draws me, afflicted as I am, to my afflicted church. With your permission and grace, I shall return to it, perhaps to perish that it may live, unless you in your goodness come swiftly to my rescue. But whether I live or die, I am yours and always shall be in the Lord; and whatever will happen to me and mine, may God bless you and your children."<sup>25</sup>

By that time, then, Thomas was ready to accept any form of violence, if need be, in defence of the cause of the Church. But even now this readiness was not an unchallenged property. It had still to be reconquered day by day. At the Flemish coast, ready to take ship for England, Thomas delayed for some days, so that his clerks, eager to get home, pressed him to go on.<sup>26</sup> He arranged for his many books to be sent to Canterbury, in order to be at least granted a tomb by the monks in recompense, in case he should not get home alive, for there were warnings that this was to be feared.<sup>27</sup> In fact, when he set foot on English soil, the hostile guards of the coast were restrained from doing violence only by the intervention of a high royal clerk who had been sent from the king to accompany Thomas home.<sup>28</sup>

Back at Canterbury, Thomas at once picked up again the reins of ecclesiastical government. His last month of life was bursting with activity, and one feels his delight in being back in the *vita activa*, his way of life. But everything was overshadowed by continuous chicaneries and threats from hostile royal officials. John of Salisbury gives a vivid description of the oppressive atmosphere in a letter to his friend, Abbot Peter of Saint-Rémi, recalling "with groans, sighs and tears" the happy days of exile in France. They in Canterbury, so John writes, are awaiting God's salvation in great danger.<sup>29</sup> Now for the first time the threat of violence was getting close to John himself!

At Christmas, Thomas in his sermon to the people dropped the remark, that although Canterbury Cathedral had already one martyred archbishop, Alphege, it would probably soon have

another.<sup>30</sup> This obiter dictum also lacks any enthusiastic note. It was a simple warning that people should be prepared, and was perhaps also meant to deter from such a deed. Two days later, Thomas sent his two hot-heads, Herbert of Bosham and Alexander the Welshman, to France, obviously to protect them from their own temerity if something should happen.<sup>31</sup> His tomb in the crypt of the cathedral was already prepared. But below the surface of perfect organisation there was still fear. When the four barons set out from Normandy for Canterbury on Christmas Eve to silence the archbishop definitely, Thomas got warnings of this at once. His first reaction in front of the messenger was to play down the danger. At a second message, he burst into tears.<sup>32</sup> The very night before the murder Thomas, standing at the open window and looking for weather and wind, asked his companions if there was still enough time to get to Sandwich, the closest seaport, before dawn. At the positive answer the archbishop, as if to encourage himself, said: "God's will shall be done with me; Thomas will await the event of divine disposition in the church committed to him".<sup>33</sup> This was his last temptation to flee.

So Thomas was prepared for what was to come, and his people, his clerks and the monks of the cathedral monastery, knew as well what was in the offing. Moreover, it was his clerks, John of Salisbury, Herbert of Bosham and the others, who had exhorted Thomas again and again during the last years to accept the possibility of a violent death for the principles at stake. Nevertheless, when the four barons arrived and violence actually broke in, the clerks and monks of the archbishop's entourage reacted with panic. The single phases of Thomas's last hour are well known: The heated discussion with the barons, his angry reaction against the insulting stupidity of their arguments, their final threats and Thomas's reply, that for no one's sake would he flee again from his post, but foot against foot they would find him in the Lord's fight. "If all the swords of England were above my head, I would not swerve from God's justice. Your swords are less ready to strike than is my spirit for martyrdom. If I am allowed to carry out my priestly duties in peace, well and good, if not—God's will be done". Storming out, the knights asserted that the king himself had defied him. At this last and sharpest thrust Thomas was stunned. It was like a death sentence, and he accepted it. The execution he wanted to await in his own room. The move into the cathedral, which provided the tremendously dramatic setting of the last phase of the spectacle, was clearly against his intentions and only forced on him by his terrified clerks.<sup>34</sup>

The reaction of this group of eminent scholars and deeply religious men to the imminent danger was, one must admit, disappointingly inadequate. Instead of facing the inevitable and assisting their archbishop by prayer to concentrate on his imminent death, they flew to unrealistic proposals for rescue. All boldness of theory was gone. John of Salisbury, who for decades had

infiltrated Thomas's mind with his strongly high Gregorian ideas, his severe stress on principle, and his admonitions never to put life before honour and justice. John this old friend had nothing else to say in that moment except to complain about Thomas's not having taken counsel with them. Thomas answered calmly and without signs of irritation; only that he addressed his friend as *Master John* might be taken as a slight sting against that old teacher who couldn't stop lecturing. He repeated to John what John had repeatedly told him years ago: We have all got to die; we must not swerve from justice for fear of death. At that, John's fear for his own life breaks through: "We are sinners, the rest of us, and not yet ready to die! I can't think of anyone except yourself who is asking for death at the moment".<sup>35</sup> John had forgotten his own admonitions, that everybody is ready for martyrdom, sinner or saint, provided he is willing to suffer for justice. In the moment of personal danger, he preferred to interpret Thomas's attitude as "provoking death", which was of course illicit, see the *Policraticus*! Soon afterwards, when the barons broke into the cathedral shouting for Thomas, John like most of the other clerks hid himself in some dark corner. That only he, the famous Master John of Salisbury, is mentioned by name among those who fled,<sup>36</sup> implies criticism: The group had expected better from him and disapproved of his behaviour.

And Thomas himself? Foremost he had to deal with his terrified clerks, something which he perhaps had not expected and for which he was not prepared. They forced him into the cathedral in spite of his protests. He was freed from the nuisance of their care only when the four barons rushed in behind them and they left him alone and hid away.—In the last exchange of words with the knights Thomas stated again that he was ready to die for God's justice and the freedom of the Church, but he threatened with anathema whosoever would touch any of his people, clerk or layman. They were clearly not ready for martyrdom; all the more was he to protect them as far as possible. Then the four barons made an attempt to carry Thomas out of the church. To this he resisted with desperate vigour, sending one of them reeling back. Maybe his old terror of being imprisoned and mutilated had risen again. When, however, he perceived that the knights were making ready to strike, he inclined his head to their blows, recommending himself and his church into the hands of God.<sup>37</sup> I shall continue with John of Salisbury's words: "Through all the agony the martyr's spirit was unconquered, his steadfastness marvellous to observe; he spoke not a word, uttered no cry, let slip no groan, raised no arm nor garment to protect himself from an assailant, but bent his head, which he had laid bare to their swords with wonderful courage, till all might be fulfilled. Motionless he held it, and when at last he fell, his body lay straight, and he moved neither hand nor foot".<sup>38</sup> William Fitzstephen adds that Thomas fell with outstretched arms as if in prayer, and that he either took care or was granted it

that he fell in a dignified way, his cloak covering him to his feet. Fitzstephen does not draw the parallel with Caesar, but it comes to mind, the more so as John of Salisbury had put this model of a dignified meeting of death before Thomas's eyes in the *Policraticus*.<sup>39</sup>

I do not think it would be adequate to the content of this paper to summarize the various attitudes towards death within the Becket circle in theoretical systems and so to deprive them of their personal flavour. The border area between accepting death for principle's sake on one side and provoking death on the other side is a narrow one, and it depends very much on the character of a person where he feels to stand. One thing only I want to stress in the end: The importance of John of Salisbury for the formation of Thomas's thoughts since the early years of their friendship; and the difference between both in putting theory into practice. As John himself expressed it, using the words of Horace; he felt that he was only the whetstone which can sharpen metal but itself cannot cut.<sup>40</sup> One could scarcely put it more precisely.

URSULA NILGEN.

<sup>1</sup> This is, by the way, what John himself expresses in the prologue to the first book, when he says: "Nugas pro parte continent (liber) curiales, et his magis insistit, quibus urgetur magis."—Webb I, 14; 387a.

<sup>2</sup> Book II 27; Webb I 157-60=470a-471c. — Book V 17; Webb I 360-4=583c-585d; Dickinson 158-62. — Cf. also books VII and VIII, Dickinson 324 and 398.

<sup>3</sup> Book II 27; Webb I 158-9=470d-471b.

<sup>4</sup> In the fifth book of the *Policraticus* John adds: "Wise men scorn life in such a way, that as the price of infamy even the other age (after-life?) is held cheap, but they love life in such a way that, as long as it can be retained with innocence, it must not be cast away for the sake of any approaching difficulty. Sic ergo servanda est vita ut sit contemptu; sic contempnenda est ut proficiat saluti." — Book V 17; Webb I 363-4=585c-d; Dickinson 162.

<sup>5</sup> Enth. de Dogm. Philos. 453-528 (=De Dogmate Stoicorum etc.).

<sup>6</sup> MTB II 304-5.

<sup>7</sup> Wilh. Cant., MTB I 32, 35, 37.

<sup>8</sup> Wilh. Fitzst., MTB III 64 f.

<sup>9</sup> Garnier, ed. Shirley, 42.

<sup>10</sup> To prove this, we need only look into the two volumes of miracles of St. Thomas, where several cases are reported, where the saint is said to have restituted mutilated limbs to those unjustly punished by this penalty.—Cf. also the royal edict of 1169, MTB VII 146.

<sup>11</sup> "If you should say . . ." (there follows a long list of biblical precedents, then), "if you say that the weight of the tabernacle rested solely on the shoulders and wagons of the Levites, or any other such things which are found in the Law of God, it will be fortunate for you if you are not mutilated and thrust into prison, or banished into exile. A shout of fury will go up against you from all sides, and both the ambitious and their supporters will not scruple to pass against you the severest sentence of condemnation. . . . For if they are to be believed, you will be adjudged a public enemy, as guilty of *lèse majesté* . . . . While you are exalting ecclesiastical liberty as a zealot for your own profession, you are subverting the wisdom of princes."—Book VII 20; Dickinson 309f.

- 12 Cf. W. Plöchl, *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts*.—E. H. Feine, *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts*.—P. Hinschius, *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts*.
- 13 MTB II 393.
- 14 Wilh. Cant., MTB I 40 f.; Herb. Bosh., MTB III 319 ff.; Gilbert Foliot, with negative argumentation, MTB V 536 f.; John, Letters II 391/93.
- 15 Wilh. Fitzst., MTB III 134 f.
- 16 John, Letters II 169/71.
- 17 In a second letter to Thomas, written perhaps not much later and answering concrete questions of the archbishop, John advises, that Thomas should not set so much value on his own life, if, by participating in a conference with his persecutors, he may help the churches and souls committed to him. John, Letters II 191.—The topic of martyrdom had been touched very briefly by John in his *Policraticus*. There it was styled “the difficult and happy death”, “for which the priests and bishops of old times had been eager, while today the priests openly say that they do not wish to be martyrs, but stick to their seats of honour”.—Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London and Thomas's most bitter enemy, got dangerously close to this type of contemporary priest scourged by John, when he, in his notorious letter “Multiplicem”, reproached Thomas for having asked his bishops to provoke the sword, which, so Foliot says, would be insanity, not martyrdom. “And if we ponder not only your words, father, but also your deeds (that is a dig referring to Thomas's flight from Northampton), we shall neither rashly nor lightly (frivolously) intrude ourselves into death.”—MTB V 537.—For John, cf. Policr. V 4; Dickinson 79.—Policr. VIII 23; Dickinson 398.
- 18 MTB III 60 f.—Smalley 57.
- 19 E.g. MTB V 491, 499, also 495, 517.
- 20 E.g. Garnier, ed. Shirley, 96 f., 102 f.—Grim, MTB II 413.—Wilh. Cant., MTB I 50-2.
- 21 MTB VII 27.
- 22 John, Letters II 367.
- 23 MTB III 451-8.
- 24 MTB VII 388.
- 25 MTB VII 393-5; Winston 330.
- 26 Wilh. Fitzst., MTB III 117.—Herb. Bosh., MTB III 471-6.
- 27 Wilh. Cant., MTB I 86 f.
- 28 Wilh. Cant., MTB I 88—Wilh. Fitzst., MTB III 118.
- 29 John, Letters II 723/25.
- 30
- 31
- 32
- 33 Giraldus Cambrensis, *De vitis sex episcoporum coetaneorum*, excerpts in MTB II 284.
- 34
- 35 Bened., *Passio*, MTB II 9.—Wilh. Fitzst., MTB III 136-8.—Anon. I, MTB IV.
- 36 Wilh. Fitzst., MTB III 139.
- 37
- 38 John, Letters II 733.
- 39 Wilh. Fitzst., MTB III 141 f.—Policr. VIII 19; Webb II 365 f.=789c-d.
- 40 John, Letters II 131.

## THE PRECINCTS WATER SUPPLY

Six years ago the late Mr. John Hayes wrote a most interesting article in the *Chronicle* entitled "Prior Wibert's Waterworks", and though most of this article<sup>1</sup> dealt with the medieval water supply, Mr. Hayes touched upon the Dean and Chapter's water supply in the last couple of pages. At that time this water supply had ceased to function, and only during the last two years has work been put in hand to repair the supply. The repairs have been carried out by the Dean and Chapter with help from the Canterbury Archaeological Trust, and during this work a study (still only partially complete) has been made of the surviving system of pipes, settling tanks, Conduit House, etc. All of these remains appear to date from the 17th century at the earliest and this article will deal largely with the water supply since the Dissolution.<sup>2</sup>

On the east side of the City in the St. Martin's and Old Park area is a steep natural hillside and at the bottom of this (at about the 75 foot contour) is a spring line which has been used for centuries to supply the City with fresh water. It was probably first used in the Roman period to supply piped water to the Public Baths and other major buildings,<sup>3</sup> but its first documented use is about 1150 when Archbishop Theobald gave the monks of Christ Church a spring at a place called Horsefelde (probably near the area now called Reed Pond in the Old Park). Near here Prior Wibert built his famous Conduit House to allow water to be piped under pressure to the Priory. It is the system which is shown so graphically in the famous pair of Waterworks drawings in the Canterbury Psalter.<sup>4</sup> At about the same time, St. Augustine's Abbey must also have built themselves a Conduit, and this was probably in the area called "North Holmes" about half way between the Christ Church Conduit and St. Martin's Church. This Conduit was probably on the same site as a still-existing conduit which was perhaps last used in 1733 by Sir John Hales to supplement the City's water supply.<sup>5</sup> To the south again in the area near St. Martin's Church on either side of St. Martin's Hill were more natural springs which were used from at least the early 17th century for the City's water supply.

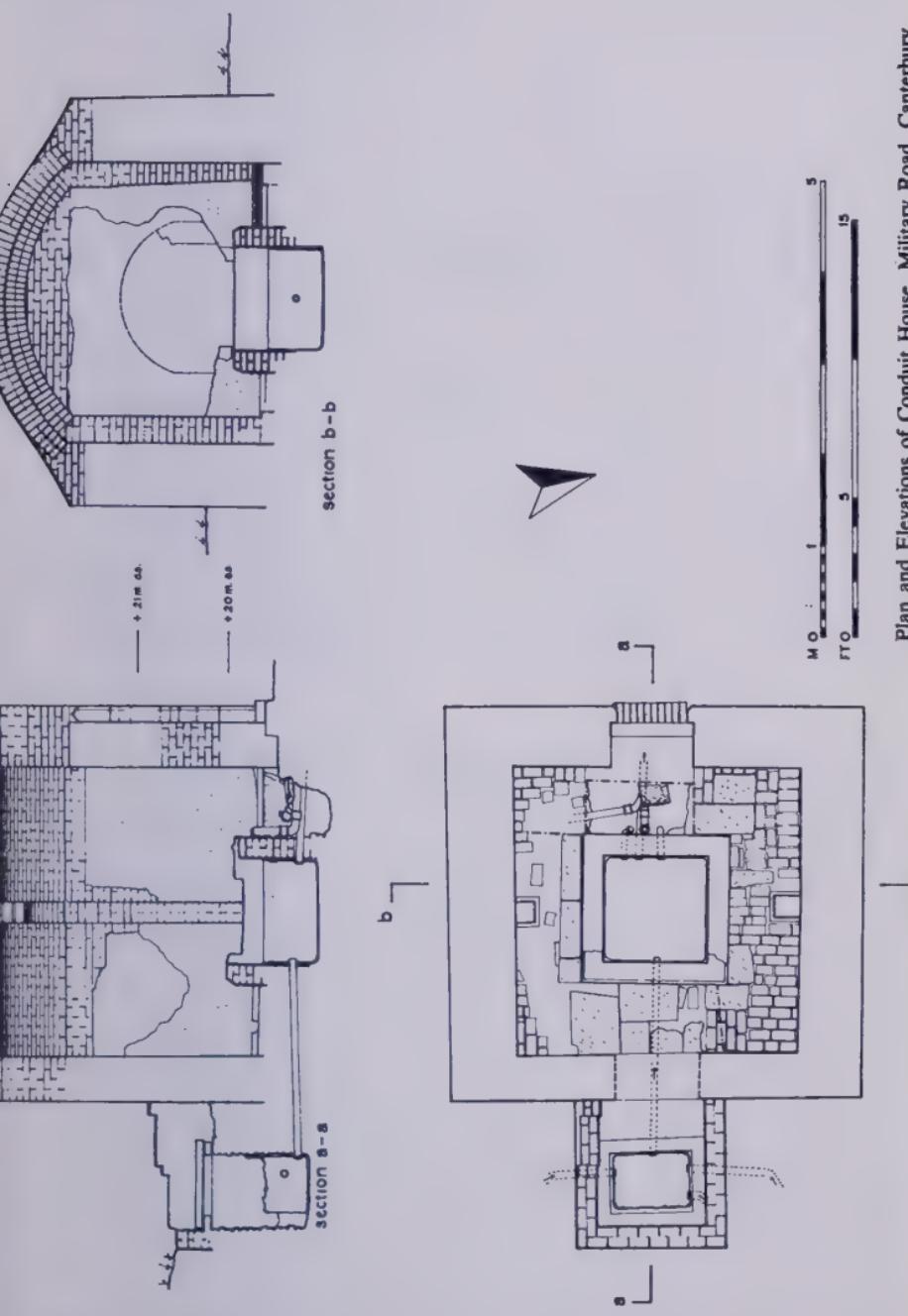
In 1620 Archbishop George Abbot had paid for a Conduit to be erected on the site of the old Fish Shambles behind St. Andrew's church in Canterbury (now the middle of The Parade) and the water for this Conduit was brought here in earthen pipes from the St. Martin's Hill and Babbs Hill area.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, due to a dispute with the City, the water supply was not endowed and the water from Babbs Hill (taken through the Barton Court area) soon began to run out, and in 1649 a new conduit head was built just south-east of St. Martin's Church in the area now called St. Martin's "Priory". This Conduit and the land beside it (inaccurately called "The Glebe" today) was to cause the City many problems in the following two centuries.<sup>7</sup> As mentioned above, in 1733 Sir John Hales did the City a great service by

piping water from the St. Augustine's Conduit (which he owned) to the City's Conduit, and by erecting several new "cocks" (taps), one of which still survives at the west end of Longport (on the north side), and above it in the wall is a Latin and English inscription commemorating Sir John Hales. It would be nice to see this "cock" restored, perhaps as a drinking fountain, and used by the many visitors to the City who walk down Longport from the Coach Park. In 1754, Abbot's Conduit in The Parade was taken down and new cisterns were built in the tops of the St. George's Gate towers. When these towers were in turn demolished in 1801, a new cistern was built in the tower in the city wall in St. Michael's Lane (now Burgate Lane and occupied since 1845 by the Zoar Chapel).

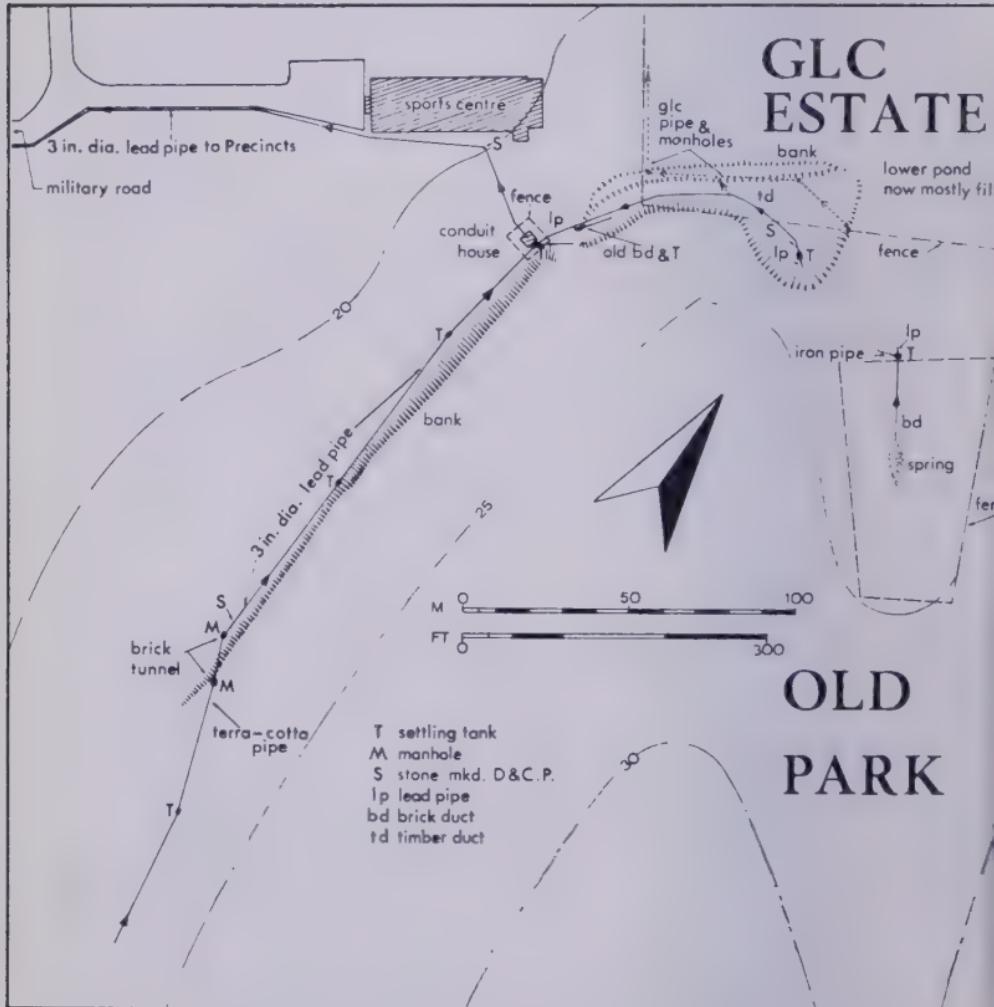
Returning to the Christ Church Conduit and water supply, we find that this too only has a detailed history from the 17th century. When the Priory was dissolved in 1540, the old system in the Precincts must also have ceased to operate, and new pipes would have to be laid<sup>8</sup>, though the main supply from the Old Park continued to be used by the new Dean and Chapter. Unfortunately for them King Henry VIII has established a New Park north of St. Augustine's and the Deer tended to foul the water.<sup>9</sup> After various complaints to the king and the granting to him of some of their lands, the Dean and Chapter were in 1546 given St. Augustine's Conduit and allowed to send their men into the Park to clean and repair the Conduit on condition that they asked the park keepers' permission first.

From that date until 1635 when the cistern in the Green Court is first mentioned,<sup>10</sup> little appears to be known about the vicissitudes of the Dean and Chapter's water supply. Probably little was done and only after the Restoration in 1660 do we have plans and a description of the new Conduit House in the Green Court and the new system of water pipes. The plan is first recorded by a note in the 1668-9 Treasurer's Accounts which says "To James Wilkes for his scheme or draught of the vaults, pipes and gutters belonging to the church, £3". This plan that he drew still exists in the Cathedral Library,<sup>11</sup> and it is entitled "A Description of ye vaults, pipes Sestones (cisterns), and gutters belonging to the Church, as is hear shewed. Drane out and ffinnished by James Wilkes, waterman to ye Deane and Chapter of Christ's Church, Canterbury, October the 27th, anno 1668". This is a very crude sketch map, but twelve years later a fine measured plan was made by Thomas Hill of the Precincts<sup>12</sup> which also shews the new Conduit House, pipes and apparently a fountain in the garden behind the house of the 5th Prebendal stall (now Linacre House). The Conduit House, "square and like a country pigeon-house" according to Gostling,<sup>13</sup> was demolished in the early 18th century, and the cistern on the upper floor was transferred to the first floor of the nearby brewhouse where it remained for over 200 years, only being taken out soon after the last war.

Plan and Elevations of Conduit House, Military Road, Canterbury.



# GLC ESTATE



# OLD PARK

At the same time as the new Conduit House was first recorded in the Precincts, a new Conduit House was probably constructed at the Old Park site, and this is perhaps in part the Conduit House which still remains and was cleaned and restored in the summer of 1981.<sup>14</sup> This Conduit House was apparently completely reconstructed in 1812,<sup>15</sup> and all the tanks and pipes in and around it, which are now functioning again, probably only date from the 19th century. At the Conduit House itself (Fig. 1), the early 19th century work is entirely in brick. It consists of a brick vault on the earlier walls (supported by two internal brick piers), and a brick and stone floor. In the centre of the Conduit House is a large brick-built tank (rendered with cement and lead-lined) holding about 100 cubic feet of water. It is fed by a pipe from the east which connects with another, smaller (c. 18 cubic feet) brick and lead-lined tank. This second tank, just outside the Conduit House on the east, was also originally covered by a brick vault (now mostly gone), and it is fed by three 2½ to 3 inch lead pipes which come from the north, north-east and south. Both the tanks were clearly used as settling tanks, and from the main tank in the Conduit House, a 3 inch lead pipe runs out westwards towards the Sports Centre (earlier the Riding School for the Cavalry Barracks, and then the Garrison Theatre). Just before it reaches the building it turns south-west (the spot is marked by a stone marked D & C P), and then runs down Military Road to the Precincts. Other pipes originally lead out of the main tank (including one for the Army to the Stables), but these are now cut off.

To the north-east of the Conduit House (Fig. 2), can be seen last vestiges of a large pond. This pond was perhaps the main pre-19th century source for the Conduit House, and may well be one of the ponds of the Medieval period which fed Wibert's Conduit.<sup>16</sup> The greater part of this pond was filled in and levelled up about ten years ago when the G.L.C. housing estate was built. However, the south-eastern part of the pond still exists (though very full of reeds and other vegetation), and the rest of the pond can be fully reconstructed from earlier Ordnance Survey maps. On the downhill side to the west had once been a bank, but this has been completely obliterated by levelling and the digging of a new G.L.C. drainage pipe and four large manholes. Through the centre of the filled-in pond ran a 19th century plank-lined "french" drain which had brick settling tanks at either end. The brick tank on the south-west had a lead pipe leading from it directly to the Conduit House, and beside this tank was an earlier brick duct. The other brick tank at the uphill (south-east) side of the pond had a lead pipe leading into it, which may connect (though this has not yet been proved) with another lead-lined brick settling-tank further to the south-east. This tank in turn was fed by a natural spring in a shallow depression which had in the 19th century been fenced off, presumably to protect the water supply from army activities in the Old Park.

Running due south from the rear of the Conduit House are the remains of a bank on the side of the hill. This is presumably part of the original Old Park bank or "the bank and dyke of Barton Field on the west" as the 1492 survey calls it.<sup>16</sup> Immediately below this bank, a 3 inch lead pipe runs southwards for just over 500 feet to a large brick manhole. At two intermediary points are two more lead-lined brick settling tanks, which had charcoal in the bottom (in the past, this was periodically changed) to clean and filter the water. South again the brick manhole connects with a huge brick-vaulted tunnel which runs for at least 20 feet through the bank to another manhole. This last manhole is over the point where a large terracotta pipe brings in the water (presumably from the spring line) to the end of the vaulted brick tunnel. The whole of this last section was perhaps built by the Army later in the 19th century after damage to the source by military activities.<sup>17</sup>

From the Conduit House, as was shown above, a 3 inch lead pipe took the water under pressure down the south-east side of Military Road to the Precincts. Two-thirds of the way down is a manhole, now rather rusted-up but in which are two stop-cocks and a "run-off" pipe in between.<sup>18</sup> The pipe reaches the Precincts just to the west of the tower on the City wall at the bottom of Military Road (now behind the Payne Smith School), and there was another stop-cock and "run-off" pipe (in a manhole apparently dated 1809) just outside No. 5, The Forrens. A large tap was inserted here after the last War when the great cistern in the Brewhouse was removed.<sup>18</sup> From here the pipe runs through the Forrens Gatehouse to a central distribution point just inside the modern door immediately east of the maindoor into the monastic Brewhouse. Originally the pipe ran to the Conduit House on the north side of the Green Court (as shown in Wilkes' 1669 and Hill's 1680 plans), and then for over 200 years ran to the Great Cistern on the first floor in the Brewhouse. This cistern held about 15,000 gallons and it was the destruction of this cistern to make the new "Priory Classrooms in 1951 that sounded the "death-knoll" to the Dean and Chapter's private water-supply. Although the water had been condemned as undrinkable in the 1930's it was used again by many people during the last war after bombing had destroyed the mains supply. Today it could still be of use for watering the many gardens in the Precincts and to get the ornamental fountains (in the Dean's Garden) and elsewhere going again.

Much of the system of lead pipes in the Precincts leading from the Conduit House is still intact, though in areas like the South Close and at the north end of the Green Court where war-time bombing caused much damage the taps on the ends of the pipes have been destroyed. More recently new building work in the Mint Yard, at the north end of the Choir House and in the Linacre Garden area has destroyed the system of pipes in these areas. Lead pipes were in fact found during the excavations in

the Mint Yard, by the Norman Staircase and in Linacre Garden between 1977 and 1980<sup>19</sup>. Elsewhere a series of taps still exist and recently these have been repaired by the Clerk of Works department. The existing taps are:

- (a) Outside the north door of the Crypt.
- (b) In the east wall of the garden of 29, The Precincts.
- (c) At the back of the Deanery.
- (d) In front of 5, The Forrens.
- (e) In the yard in front of 11b, The Precincts.
- (f) In the works yard behind 10, The Precincts.

There is also a fountain at the south end of the Deanery front garden.

The cleaning and restoration of these pipes is now in progress, and when this is done, another article will be written on the water supply and drainage system in the Precincts.

*Acknowledgements:* I am grateful to Canon Derek Ingram Hill for commissioning this article and for initiating the restoration work, and to Mrs. Margaret Sparks for reading and commenting on an earlier draft. Brian Lemar and members of the Cathedral Works department have assisted at every stage of the work and answered many questions, and Paul Bennett and members of the Canterbury Archaeological Trust have worked long hours in extremely wet and muddy conditions to "rediscover" the pipes and tanks around the Conduit House.

TIM TATTON-BROWN.

#### REFERENCES

1. *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 71 (1977), 17-26.
2. For a detailed description of the medieval water supply, see R. Willis "The Architecture History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury", *Arch. Cant.* 7 (1868) 158-183.
3. Recent excavations in the City by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust have shown that water was piped into the City in the Roman period for Public Baths, Fountains, etc.
4. See Willis *op. cit.* above (note 2), Plate 1.
5. See below.
6. See Alderman C. R. Bunce, "The Canterbury Water Supply" in *Ancient Canterbury* (Reprinted 1930 from the *Kentish Gazette*), 45-8.
7. See F. Jenkins, "Troubled Waters" in *The Parish of St. Martin and St. Paul* (ed. M. Sparks) (1980) 71-5.
8. In the accounts for 1544/5 of John Mills, Master of the Works, there are leadwork expenses for conduit pipes recorded.
9. See C. E. Woodruff and W. Danks, *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral* (1912), 55.
10. In the Treasurer's accounts for 1635, work was being done at the cistern to repair damage caused by the fall of Mr. Moulin's house—Stall IV.
11. See C. E. Woodruff, "The Parliamentary Survey of the Precincts of Canterbury Cathedral in the time of the Commonwealth", *Arch. Cant.* 49 (1938) 198 and plate opposite p. 195.
12. See plate 22 in N. Battely, *Cantuaria Sacra* (1703).
13. W. Gostling, *A Walk in and about the City of Canterbury* (1825 edition) 164, note 2.
14. See *Arch. Cant.* 97 (1981), 292-3 and fig. 6.
15. And again in the 1920's, see "The Precincts Water" in *The Cantuarian* Vol. 28, No. 6 (August, 1961) 467.

16. Mentioned in a survey of the bounds of the Manor of Caldecote in 1492, see E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent XI* (1801), 157.
17. Chapter Minutes record damage by the Army to a water pipe in 1868. In the 1930's, additional Married Quarters were proposed for this area; they were, however, never built.
18. See *op. cit.* in note 13. The first manhole is now just inside what used to be the military cemetery and is now a children's playground.
19. A full report on these excavations is forthcoming in *The Archaeology of Canterbury Volumes III and IV*.

## BOOK REVIEW

DEREK INGRAM HILL

### THE SIX PREACHERS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

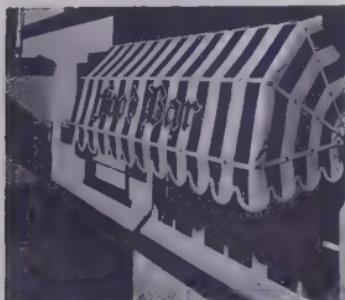
published by K. H. McIntosh, 1982, £4

This book is a labour of love and the fact that it should appear from the pen of Canon Ingram Hill while he still holds official office in the Cathedral is yet one more mark, if any were needed, of that enthusiasm, energy, and dedication to this Cathedral which have marked his long and fruitful connection with it. Clearly set out, with a brief introduction and postscript which look at the significance of the subject, he then goes on to give a short biographical sketch of every holder of the office of Six Preacher from the time of the Reformation until the present day. This series of portraits is divided into five sections, each prefaced by a short survey giving the general church background of the period and headed by such lively titles as "Controversy and Calamity 1541 to 1660", "Privilege without Property 1773 to 1863", "Distinction without Emolument 1942 to 1982". And what a portrait gallery this is! Over two hundred canvasses are unrolled for us. The range of character, eccentricity, erudition for which the Church of England is justly famed are here presented for the entertainment and edification of the reader. Everyone will of course find their own particular favourite, but setting myself a firm limit of three my own personal list came out as John Bargrave (pp. 62-4) for his antiquarian interests and his travels; Arthur James Mason (p. 109) for managing to have the best of both worlds by combining so successfully cathedral and university; and Thomas Becon (pp. 22-4) because I long ago enjoyed his Catechism and treasure that aphorism which is quoted here "When the wine is in, the wit is out."

Thomas Becon appears in person in a splendid contemporary woodcut. And this brings me to draw attention to the attractive range of illustrations. As well as individual portraits such as that of Benjamin Harrison by George Richmond, there are groups (Bishop Broughton and the first five Australian bishops gathered stiffly round a table), the Cathedral itself (the choir in 1840) or the Precincts (the demolition of the houses built into the infirmary arches). So we can enjoy the Six Preachers to the full.

ESTHER DE WAAL.

We are grateful for contributions to production costs from the following:



**AMEY**  
GRILLES AND DOORS LTD  
WESTMINSTER ROAD  
VAUXHALL INDUSTRIAL ESTATE  
CANTERBURY  
56081/2/3/4

**CLUTTONS**

**WIGGINS  
TEAPE**

**WOOLWORTHS**



**SILK PHOTOGRAPHICS**

**FORWOODS  
CLASSICAL  
MUSIC**

154A F ST CANTERBURY CT1 2DZ

Tel 0227 64741

**L. H. Browne & Sons**  
(Organ Builders)

Organ Builders since 1871



New Instruments

Restorations

Rebuilds

Tuning and Maintenance

For all enquiries please contact  
our Office and Works at  
Church Lane, St. Mildred's  
CANTERBURY CT1 2PP  
Tel. Canterbury (0227) 62346

**CHARTERED SURVEYORS  
AND ESTATE AGENTS  
CANTERBURY**

**CHARTHAM PAPER MILLS  
HOME OF "GATEWAY" TRACING**

*For your Home  
and Garden needs*

153-155 WINCHEAP, CANTERBURY, KENT  
(0227) 65945/61636

Commercial Photographers

**HOPPERS  
FARMHOUSE BAKERY**

**THE OAST  
HATCH LANE  
CHARTHAM HATCH  
CANTERBURY  
731281**

**FOR QUALITY CAKES  
AND PASTRY GOODS**

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE  
NUMBER 77 APRIL 1983

Published by The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral,  
11b The Precincts, Canterbury. Telephone 62806.

Printed by The Canterbury Printers Ltd.,  
Hall Place, Harbledown, Canterbury.



INTERBURY CATHEDRAL  
**CHRONICLE**  
**1984**





# THE CHRONICLE 1984

Published by the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral

NUMBER 78

APRIL 1984

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	3
FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK	5
NOTES AND NEWS	7
DEATHS OF FRIENDS	9
THE WEST WINDOW BY FREDERICK W. COLE	10
ST. ANDREW'S CHAPEL BY D. L. LANGSLOW	11
QUIRE NEEDLEWORK SCHEME	15
PROTECTION FROM THE ELEMENTS BY DUNCAN HARRINGTON	17
BENJAMIN HARRISON: ARCHDEACON, BENEFACTOR, TRACTARIAN BY BRIAN M. HOBGEN	21
ARCHBISHOP THOMAS HERRING AND CANTERBURY BY ROBERT T. HOLTBY, DEAN OF CHICHESTER	26
DR. JOHN BARGRAVE AND HIS COLLECTION BY DAVID STURDY	33
GEORGE BELL, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, DEAN OF CANTERBURY 1924-29	37
BY REV'D. PROF. GORDON RUPP	
BOOK REVIEWS	41
CANON P. BRETT	
DR. E. L. KENDALL	
DR. D. INGRAM HILL	
CANON A. M. ALLCHIN	

## EDITORIAL

The year 1983 saw the advent of Charles Barker as the Steward of the Friends and a number of enjoyable events including a visit of a group of Friends to Rheims for a weekend in April where they were welcomed and handsomely entertained by some of the Friends of Rheims Cathedral. The centenary of the birth of George Bell our Founder was marked by an impressive service in Chichester Cathedral at which a new font in his memory was dedicated during the Eucharist on February 4th; the Dean of Canterbury and the writer of this editorial were both present to represent the Friends. In this number we publish the fine sermon on Bishop Bell preached by Dr. Gordon Rupp at our Friends Festival in July.

Chichester is also represented in this number by a scholarly article on Archbishop Herring from its present Dean, Robert Holtby. We have an unusual article on Fire Precautions by one of our local genealogists, Duncan Harrington, whose researches in the Cathedral archives continually unearth interesting information about Cathedral history, while last year's celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the Oxford Movement find an epilogue in an account of the life and work of the distinguished Victorian archdeacon Benjamin Harrison by another local historian Mr. Brian M. Hogben (accompanied by a fine portrait of Harrison by the contemporary artist George Richmond who painted most of the celebrities of the Victorian era). An Oxford scholar, Mr. Brian Sturdy, has contributed an account of the remarkable collection of curiosities assembled by Dr. John Bargrave, Canon Residentiary and Receiver in the years following the Restoration of Charles II.

One of the great events of the past year has been the return to the west window of the Nave of its glass cleaned and restored and now double glazed for protection. Many friends will be glad to see Adam (who appears on our cover picture this year) back in his old place again.

Among the numerous Friends who have died in the last eighteen months we remember with thanksgiving for their services and enthusiasm Gerald Ireland who gave so generously of his financial expertise to the accounts of the Friends, Bishop Warner so much loved in the diocese for the ministry he exercised in the years following his retirement from the See of Edinburgh, Canon Green and Canon Bradshaw both devoted chaplains of the Cathedral, and that marvellous lecturer Lord Clark of Saltwood who served on our Council and then became a Patron of the Friends. Other eminent layfolk who have passed on to a better world in 1983 include Stanley Jennings sometime Mayor of Canterbury, and Alderman down to the time of the abolition of that ancient civic office in 1974, Sir George Pope who gave such great support to the Cathedral Appeal in Croydon from its inauguration there in 1975, and last, but not least, that gracious lady Mrs. Noel Hewlett Johnson who was the support and partner of her famous husband the late Dean in his long reign as Chairman of the Friends. May all these rest in peace.

It was with great regret that we said farewell to Colin Dudley who after retirement from his educational work at Christ Church College has left England to settle with his wife and daughter in Australia. His articles in

the *Chronicle* and his pictorial reconstruction of the Shrine and the Tomb in the Crypt will give pleasure and information to lovers of our Great Church for many years to come.

The 'Enigmatic Clock' is now in a new position on the west wall of the North East Transept while the restoration of the mural paintings in St. Andrew's Chapel continues. Prior Wibert's water is flowing again into the Precincts as a result of long years of patient effort on the part of the Chapter works staff and the Canterbury Archaeological Trust, re-building the Conduit House up Military Road and clearing out pipes jammed with silt. The Silver Treasury in the Crypt closed for the winter months will be reopened just before Easter. 'Wearing my hat' as Custos Thesaurii I should be glad to hear from any Friends who would be willing to sit there for a couple of hours now and then (10.30 to 12.30 or 2.30 to 4.30) to welcome visitors to the Treasury and keep an eye on things generally. This is one of the many pleasant ways by which those who live near at hand can serve the Cathedral and minister to the needs of its multitude of pilgrims and tourists for the love of God and the benefit of His Holy Church of Canterbury.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

## FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK

I have kept for many years note books in which I preserve items of interest and information about the Cathedral not appearing in the normal books which abound about our Cathedral Church. From time to time Friends may like some of them placed on record here.

This year I publish a new translation of the inscription around the Black Prince's tomb sent to me by the late Mr. Ralph Dawson of Barham, also a record of the figures placed in the vacant niches around Archbishop Chichele's tomb in 1897 when it was restored by the well-known artist C. E. Kemp at the expense of All Soul's College, and also a lovely prayer in French offered in our Cathedral service on June 5th, 1983 by Dom Philibert Zobel, O.S.B., Prior of Bec.

### FREELY TRANSLATED INTO MODERN ENGLISH

You who pass silently by here where this body rests, listen to what I would say to you if I were able to speak. Such as you are, I used to be: you will become such as I am. I did not ponder on the idea of death whilst I was alive. On Earth I possessed great wealth with which I kept high estate: lands, houses and great treasure, rich furnishings, horses, silver and gold. But now I am poor and wretched as I lie here in the dust. All my fine appearance is gone, my flesh is quite decayed. I inhabit a meagre and narrow house. You would not credit that it is I if you were to see me now. You would fancy this could never have been any man, so utterly changed am I. For God's good sake pray to the king of heaven that he may have mercy upon my soul. All those who on my account pray that God may receive me, may God take them to his paradise where wicked persons may not be.

Translation by R. M. DAWSON.

This inscription was wrought in the metal of the Black Prince's tomb in accordance with the express directions of his Will in which this epitaph appears in full. The lines were adapted from words originally composed by Petrua Alfonso (circa 1106).

### MODERN FIGURES ON CHICHELE'S TOMB, 1897

#### *East end*

- Upper Row: Wm. of Wykeham; Henry VI; Our Lady and Child;  
Henry V; Katherine de Valois.  
Lower Row: St. Alphege, Duke of Clarence; St. Gabriel; Mary  
Bohun; St. Dunstan.

#### *West end*

- Upper Row: St. Anselm; St. Augustine of Hippo; Abraham; St.  
Gregory; St. Thomas Becket.  
Lower Row: St. Augustine of Canterbury; St. Jerome; St. Michael;  
St. Ambrose; St. Edmund Rich.

## FRENCH PRAYER

Intercession du Père Philibert  
au cours de l'Eucharistie anglicane  
dans la cathédrale de Canterbury le dimanche 5 juin 1983  
(en français)

Seigneur,  
toi qui bâtis ton Eglise de pierres vivantes,  
nous te rendons grâce pour tous les saints  
qui ont vécu dans cette Eglise de Canterbury,  
pour Augustin et Dunston, Lanfranc et Anselme, Laud et Temple.

Nous t'en prions, fais de cette cathédrale  
un signe dressé pour les nations,  
approfondis sans cesse sa vie de prière,  
rassemble toutes les communautés qui sont liées par la  
communion et l'amitié avec cette Eglise de Canterbury  
et rassemble-nous tous dans les signes visibles de ton unité.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### YOUNG FRIENDS 1983/1984 PROGRAMME

- There have been several Meetings held regularly at 11A The Precincts.
- April 2nd, 1983      A sponsored Fast in aid of The Church of England Children's Society.
- May 7th, 1983      A Barbecue at the Deanery after Evensong.
- July 11th, 1983      A visit to the Organ Loft with Mr. David Flood.
- July 17th, 1983      Friends Day. Canon Ingram Hill conducted a group of Young Friends on a tour of Bell Harry.
- July 30th, 1983      A very enjoyable trip to the Cathedrals of Ely and Peterborough during the course of the weekend.
- September 3rd, 1983      Mr. Tim Tatton-Brown conducted a tour of the Archaeological sites of the Precincts and Palace.
- October 29th, 1983      Canon Ingram Hill conducted a tour of the Corona Tower.
- November 19th, 1983      The Young Friends went to St. Paul's for an extensive tour of the Cathedral.
- December 23rd, 1983      A large group of the Young Friends went Carol Singing around the Cathedral Precincts lead by the Revd. Paul Rose, followed by a Party in Theodore Annexe.
- February 4th, 1984      A tour of the Cathedral's wall paintings and the work which is involved in maintaining and restoring was explained to the Young Friends. This was followed by Tea.
- April 13th-15th, 1984      Young Friends (in a party of 35) are going to Rheims.

The Young Friends would like to thank all those who made all these trips possible.

KATHERINE EADY.

### HAIL AND FAREWELL

On 9th January a party from the Cathedral congregation took coach for Rothwell, Lincs., where the Revd. Paul Rose was inducted to Holy Trinity, a delightful old church.

#### *Farewell to . . .*

Douglas Longstaffe (Virger) now at Leeds Parish Church.  
Andrew Johnson (Virger) now at Winchester Cathedral.

## Welcome to . . .

Peter Hambleton (Virger) from Leek Parish Church.

Ian Griffiths (Virger) from Westminster Abbey.

Reginald Bristowe (Virger) from Bracknell Parish Church.

We wish Deaconess Julia Butterworth well on her appointment to St. Mary of Charity, Faversham.

Miss Fiona Allardyce (Senior Conservator) has left the Wall Paintings Workshop. We thank her for her valuable contribution to the restoration programme.

We welcome Brigadier N. A. Atherton, High Sheriff of Kent, as a new Council Member.

## FOR SALE

We have for sale a proof copy of *Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* by Bernard Rackham. It may be inspected in the Friends Office where bids should be submitted.

## THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMAGES

Friends are invited to take part in a most rewarding experience of the treasures of Canterbury during August, 1984. A team of well-known scholars will be lecturing or guiding during the weeks beginning August 6th, 13th and 20th. Single and double rooms in St. Augustine's College. Meals in the 13th century refectory. Inclusive charge £132.

Write for further details: The Bursar, King's School, Canterbury.

## OPEN EVENING—THURSDAY, MAY 10th

7.30-9.30 p.m.

Thursday, May 10th will provide you all with an opportunity to help swell the numbers of Friends.

The Cathedral and all its glories will be open to you to bring NEW Friends. The various departments will be represented showing the Cathedral and its works. Wall Painting Restoration, Stained Glass, Changeringers, the Masons and the Guides will be there. Also an Audio-Visual presentation of the Cathedral. The Organ Loft will be open to view and Vestments displayed by the Vesturer. Our evening will close with Compline in the Quire at 9.15 p.m.

Please let me know how many of you are coming.

Have you considered enrolling a "FRIEND" for their birthday or for Christmas?

FRIENDS DAY is SUNDAY, 22nd JULY.

A Supplement is enclosed with coming events.

CHARLES BARKER.

## DEATHS OF FRIENDS

*Recorded with reverence and honour following notification received between March 1st, 1983, and February 29th, 1984.*

- |                                       |                                |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Aireton, Mr. A. S.                    | Hill, Mr. V. G.                |
| Archer, Miss E. M.                    | Hobson, The Rt. Revd. H. W.    |
| Arnold, Miss R.                       | Jennings, Mr. S. H.            |
| Bax, Mrs. H. M.                       | Johnson, Mrs. Hewlett          |
| Bloxam, Lt.-Col. G. C.                | Kennedy, Miss J.               |
| Bosanquet, Commander P. A.            | Keyte, Miss E.                 |
| Bradshaw, Mr. C. F.                   | Lambart, Mr. J. H. L.          |
| Bradshaw, The Revd. Canon<br>R. S. G. | Lloyd, Mrs. E. M.              |
| Brocklehurst, Miss M.                 | Lott, Miss L. E.               |
| Brown, Mrs. M. Y.                     | Mannell, Mrs. A. W.            |
| Butt, Mr. W. J.                       | Maynard, Mrs. J. R.            |
| Castle, Sister M. H.                  | Metcalfe, Miss E. D.           |
| Chadd, Mrs. H. B.                     | McCabe, Mr. C.                 |
| The Lord Clark of Saltwood            | McKechnie, Mrs. E. K.          |
| Clutterbuck, Miss B. M.               | McLeod, Mrs. E. R.             |
| Crees, Mr. H. V.                      | Millar, Mrs. G.                |
| Dawson, Mrs. M. L.                    | Otermann, Mr. K.               |
| Empson, Sir Charles                   | Parsons, Canon D.              |
| Farrrell, Mrs. A. V.                  | Peterken, Mr. S. G.            |
| Field, The Revd. E. J.                | Pope, Sir G.                   |
| Finch, Mr. T. L.                      | Raby, Miss J. E.               |
| Foord, Miss E.                        | Raine, Miss R. H.              |
| Forge, Mrs. M. E.                     | Redman, Miss A. H. T.          |
| Fudge, Miss A.                        | Richardson, Mr. L.             |
| Gaster, Miss M. S.                    | Sandifer, Miss D.              |
| Geddes, The Revd. L. F.               | Shersby, Mr. R. A.             |
| Gofton-Salmond, Miss F.               | Stainer, Mrs. D.               |
| Gradden, Mr. C. J.                    | Stockbridge, Miss E. B.        |
| Green, The Revd. Canon A. J. E.       | Terry, Mr. H. J. W.            |
| Hall, Miss D.                         | Tredwell, Mrs. F.              |
| The Lady Harris                       | Warner, The Rt. Revd. K. C. H. |
| Hatfeild, Mrs. Y. S. F.               | Wiles, Mrs. E. M.              |

*and regrettably omitted from the list published in the 1983 Chronicle:*  
**Ireland, Mr. G.**

## THE WEST WINDOW

At long last the Great West Window is back where it belongs and the evening sun once more floods the interior of the Cathedral with coloured light transforming its former bleakness to warmth and beauty.

Two and a half months were needed to remove the stained glass from the stonework and to temporary glaze the openings. This phase of the work was completed on 10th May, 1979.

It was our hope that this window could be replaced in time for the 1983 Christmas celebrations, and this work, commenced on 3rd October, was completed by the 12th December, so this ambition was realised to everyone's satisfaction.

As with the Great South Window, we were resolved to preserve and restore every piece of the original glass, no matter how decomposed and fractured it might be. In the event, however, it became necessary to replace twelve pieces of glass, these having reached the end of their life by devitrification and a condition known as "sugaring". It was interesting to discover that one such piece had been repaired by glueing sandpaper over the fragments. This and other specimens are retained as examples of the effects of age on certain glass structures.

The 12th and middle 15th Century glasses have shown markedly different degrees of decomposition. As expected, the 12th Century examples were fractured, heavily layered and corroded, a condition now familiar from experience with the Great South Window. The same painstaking process of cleaning and repair was followed. The Kings in the upper tier have been repaired in the past and many pieces of glass have been replaced with new. These show the typical Caldwell artificial corrosion; created by splattering the surface with hydrofluoric acid with a layer of white flux rubbed into the resulting pitting of the glass surface and fired in. This presented its own particular problems for the techniques effective in restoring genuine corroded glass had no effect on artificial corrosion, a separate method was therefore used to restore tonal harmony.

A tribute is due to our small staff who worked so hard to make a success of this exacting task and it is hoped that the many people who have expressed anxiety over the fate of Adam Delving will now be reassured and feel that his long absence, since 1972, has been justified by his renewed lease of life, just in time.

FREDK. W. COLE.

## ST. ANDREW'S CHAPEL

After extensive recording, work began on the consolidation of four different paint layers. The earliest layer consists of an elaborate geometric design in bright blue and red. This particular layer is only evident on the eastern arch and covers an area roughly 4 ft. × 1 ft. The next layer covering the rest of the chapel (dating from the late 12th century) is a masonry design which covers most of the Chapel. Covering the masonry pattern we have a vine pattern and painted hangings in red on a white background, probably dating from the 15th century. The fourth layer which is only present on the west wall consists of a limewash layer decorated with fleur de lys, and small rosettes.

The consolidation has been a lengthy process involving careful injections of lime behind loose areas. Pressure is applied to the surface and the loose flakes are gently eased back into position. This work has been particularly difficult on the ribs where the paint layer is extremely brittle. Beneath the red and white stripes on these ribs we have discovered an unusual earlier decoration which appears to be in good condition.

Whilst removing old, unsightly fillers we have discovered the original level for the groined vault which was replaced by the present rib vault between 1150-1160.

The sequence of architectural changes within St. Andrew's Chapel has proved to be a fascinating puzzle and during the course of our work we have spent many hours searching for clues to help us to accurately date the separate paint layers.

We are now approaching the end of the consolidation work and we look forward to the next stage—cleaning. We will also have to remove painted layers adjoining severe structural cracks in the vaults to examine the condition of stonework behind. If the stonework is badly deteriorated or under particular strain it will be necessary to 'pin' the stones together or to replace them.

Vaulting on the North side of the Chapel has a severe mould growth on its surface which we are trying to remove with frequent sprays of fungicide. The mould has grown on plaster which becomes wet after penetration of water from a leaking gulley. We have been helped with the identification and spraying of the mould by staff from the Biological Department at the University of Kent in Canterbury. The mould, which looks like white fluffy cotton wool, has grown on remains of paint layers which luckily are not extensive in this area. The mould has proved of great interest to the University as it usually grows on plants or fruit and has never been encountered on stonework before.

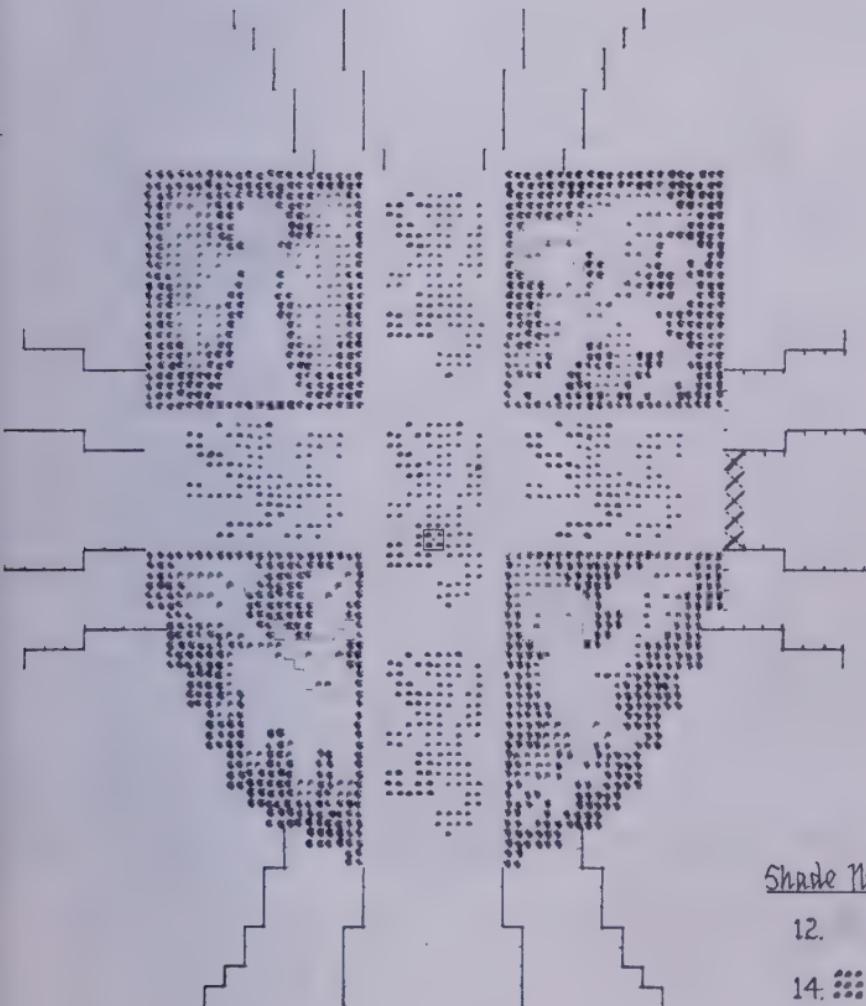
### *General*

An article on the Conservation of the Jesus Chapel has been accepted by the publishers of *The Conservator* and will appear this summer. The more lengthy report on the conservation of the 15th century painting of St. Eustace will shortly be ready for publication and it is hoped that this article will appear in *Kent Archaeology*, or another major publication.

The 12th century painting from the Infirmary Chapel is now ready for display and at present is being stored in the Cathedral's Lapidarium, until renovation work allows this area to be opened to the public.

D. L. LANGSLOW.

Archbishop Walter Reynolds  
1314 - 27.

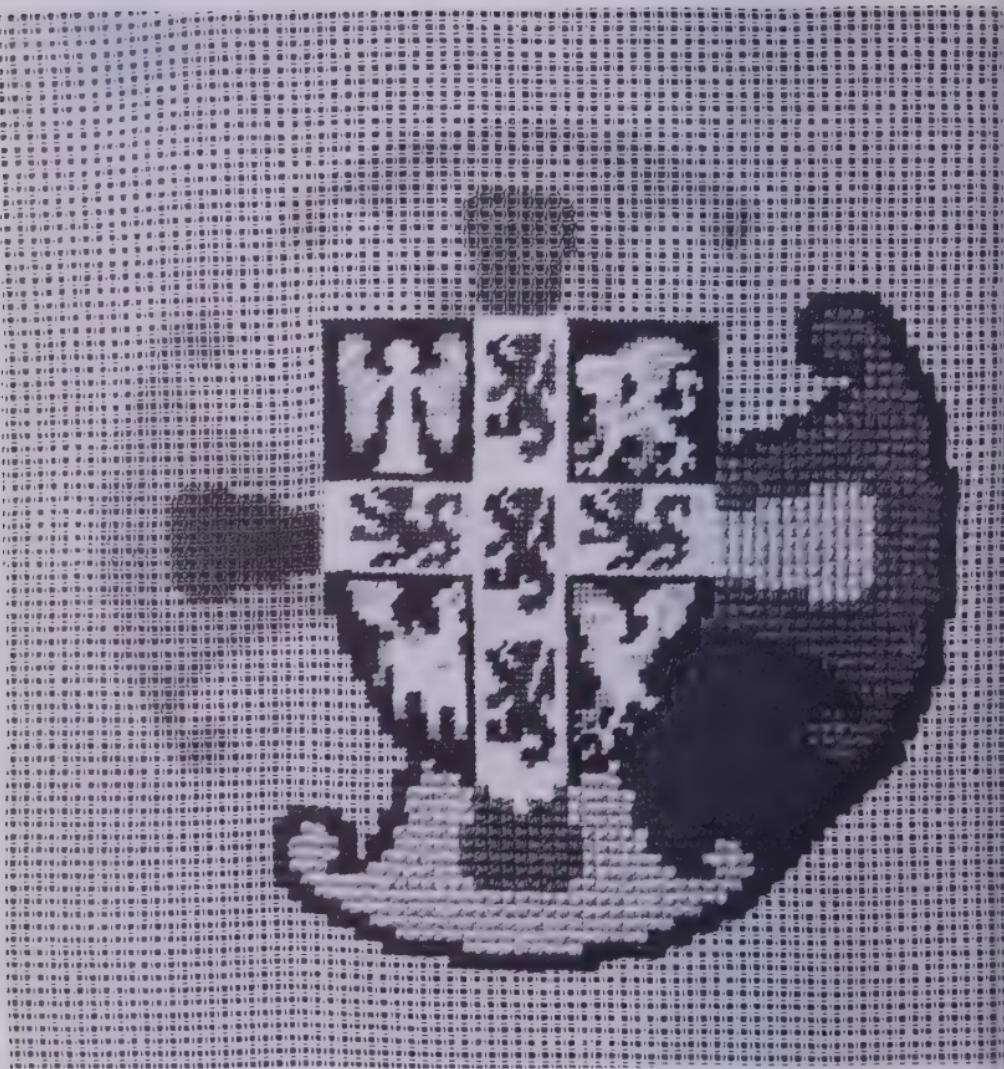


Shade Numbers.

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| 12. |  |
| 14. |  |
| 29. |  |
| 45. |  |
| 44. |  |
| 57. |  |

All Tent Stitches on Shield to be worked from bottom left hand to top right hand (as work faces you). // /  
First underside stitch of Cross Stitch to be worked from bottom right hand to top left hand. Top Cross Stitch to be worked from bottom left hand to top right hand (as work faces you). X X X

An illustration of the chart (which will be in full colour) with instructions accompanying every cushion unit being worked.



*This sampler illustrates the finer detail of the shield within the cross-stitch work and also shows the painted canvas. The right hand arm of the cross shows an experimental colourway, the lower arm is the colourway finally chosen.*

# THE WOMEN'S GUILD

## *Canterbury Choir Needlework Scheme*

Needlework for many centuries has played its role in our churches, serving not only as practical and decorative items of furnishing but also in showing the dedication and skills of the parishioners.

During the centuries preceding the 20th Century, it was the rule rather than the exception for ladies to work on very fine canvases and linens, it was not uncommon to find in canvas work, as many as 324 stitches being worked to the square inch.

We do feel that time is at a premium these days and we are no longer able to wait, possibly into the teens of years, for one piece of needlework to be completed.

This change has necessitated the use of larger mesh canvas and it is common practice in churches today, to use 5 hole to 1 inch — 25 stitches to the square inch.

We decided that a 7 holes to 1 inch, double thread canvas, would be most suitable for the Choir Scheme. For all areas other than the centre shield cross stitch would be worked in pure wool, giving close, hard wearing finish. The shields would be worked in a finer tapestry wool—in a tent stitch with split canvas threads making 14 holes to 1 inch.

There are a total of 122 pieces to complete the choir seating and each of these will come in fully inclusive Kit form consisting of:—

1. Foam infill.
2. Calico to cover the infill.
3. Hand painted, double 7 holes to 1 inch canvas bearing centrally the Canterbury Cross flanked either side by the appropriate name and dates of the Archbishop, Dean, etc. (in the case of the small cushions these will be placed around the sides) all enclosed (to the top) in a Gold border.
4. A full colour chart of the  $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{8}''$  shield, to be worked in the centre of the “Canterbury Cross”.
5. Craft Wool, Tudor Tapestry Wool and needles to work.
6. Full and concise instruction for both types of stitches for charted work and for the making up of your completed needlework into the seat cushion.
7. Base cloth and Iron-on “Hand Worked By/Donated By Label”.

ANN JACKSON,  
*Designer.*

## *Embroidered Seats for the Quire*

1. Canvas Seats for the Quire. On each cushion will be a Canterbury Cross and superimposed on it the Arms of an Archbishop with his name and dates in office on either side. The Background colour will be red, the names and dates in gold and the whole will be surrounded

by a gold border. As there are insufficient coats of arms of Archbishops for all the cushions the remaining ones will be Deans and Archdeacons.

2. There will be 52 long cushions for the Quire blocks, 12 cushions for the Return stalls and 58 for the backstalls, a total of 122 to be worked.

### *Workers*

We are looking for volunteers to work the tapestry seats and would be grateful if any interested needlewomen/men would contact Mrs. de Sausmarez, c/o The Friends Office.

We would be grateful if a sample of previous work could be shown.

We ask all workers to use a frame.

We hope to start by the end of April 1984 and complete by the end of April 1985.

### *Donors*

If any Friend would like to donate a cushion the cost will be £70 for the long cushion, £60 for the return stalls and £50 for the back stalls. Donations should be sent to The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 11B The Precincts, Canterbury, Kent.

## PROTECTION FROM THE ELEMENTS

My interest in the lightning conductors on the Cathedral was first aroused when I stumbled upon the following entry recorded in the minutes of the St. Katherine's Chapter 1775, "Also it is ordered that a conductor be placed from the top of our church and that Captain Williams be desired to direct the execution of it".<sup>1</sup>

Although Benjamin Franklin had first started experimenting in November, 1749 it was not until 1752 that he had developed the first practical lightning conductors, and apparently not until 1762 that the first lightning conductor was set up in England.<sup>2</sup> Why was it that the Cathedral Chapter chose to protect the Cathedral at this time? Possibly the danger of destruction by lightning had been highlighted by the occurrence in August, 1774 at Buckland near Dover where the church had been severely wrecked by lightning.<sup>3</sup> Apparently it had been the custom on the continent "for a thousand years past" to ring the bells to drive away thunderstorms. However, by the late 1760s the Abbé Nollet was warning people against this practice "lest the lightning, in its way to earth, should be conducted down to them by the bell ropes".<sup>4</sup>

The Chapter Minutes provide a veritable storehouse of information regarding local disasters happening to church property. For instance on the 27th November, 1672 they gave £10 towards the rebuilding of St. Mary, Sandwich, "Wholy beaten down to the ground by the fall of the steeple" and the minutes for 26th March, 1673 record that "the barn at Brookend Farm in Thanet was demolished by the late great storm". The terrible storm in November, 1703 damaged the Arundel Steeple such that it was thought prudent to remove it down to the platform and the balcony.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the Chapter were well aware of the dangers of storms and lightning to the Cathedral. There had been discussion about what lightning conductors should be placed on St. Paul's Cathedral and this must have produced a climate of interest and opinion which would have assisted them in making the decision they took.<sup>6</sup>

Looking through the earlier records for the Cathedral I found that the Mid-Summer Chapter of 1725 had "agreed that a fire engine of Mr. Newsoms make be bought for the use of the church and three dozen of buckets".<sup>7</sup> The treasurer's account shows that on the 7th September, 1725 the treasurer paid "the hoy and wagin for Ingin 18s, for the box by coach 1s 1d." On the 15th September, 1725 there are entries in the same accounts, "Paid to Dr. Clarke to be paid to Mr. Newsham for the fire engine etc. £48-12-6", 25th October "To the waggoners that brought 48 buckets from Whitstable 2s" "To the porter for helping the waggoners 2d To the hoyman for carriage by water of the buckets 2s. Paid by the hands of Dr. Hancock to Robert Lathuel for 48 buckets at 3s 6d a piece and for painting the church arms upon the same at 9d a piece £10-4s. On the 13th November there is an entry "Paid Mr. Hogben as by bill . . . upon account of money paid by him for the carriage of the fire-engine £3-7-8".<sup>8</sup> We find that the carpenter Thomas Bullock was paid for the work on the 10th November erecting "3 rekes for to hang the lether bekkets one 12s.".<sup>9</sup>

# Richard Newhall, of Cloth-Fair, London, Inventor.



Vol. I. the most useful and convenient Engines for Quenching as it takes up to stand in, and it is worked by them from great Forces, or by Hands only. Those by Sail, & those from a Canal, Pond, or Well, &c. &c. and yet, at Pleasure, will water out of their own Cisterns, as Opportunity offers. They are far less liable to Disorder, much more easie to be made, & any extant, and play off Large Quantities of Water, at the Distances under-mentioned, either from the Engine, or a Leather Pipe, or Pips, of any Length required, (the Screws all fitting each other) *This timber-tome Squirtting Engine*, which take up four times the Room, cannot perform; nor do they throw one 4th Part of their Water on the Fire, at the like Distances, but lose it by the Way; neither are they to be compared with them to much Advantage, whatever Necessity may call for. The Least largest Sizes go upon Wheels, and the Two others are carried like a Chair. Their Performances are as follows, and their Prizes fixed very reasonable, (those found my think otherwise, because his Inventions are secur'd to him by Letters Patent) he having a due Regard to the publick Good, as well as his own Profit, both in these, and divers other Inventions, for several Purposes, which he has been the Inventor whithoer: One Man can quickly and easily move them.

MAJESTY, which carry a con-

dition Stream with great Forces, themselves from a Canal, Pond, or Well, &c. &c. and yet, at Pleasure, will water out of their own Cisterns, as Opportunity offers. They are far less liable to Disorder, much more easie to be made, & any extant, and play off Large Quantities of Water, at the Distances under-mentioned, either from the Engine, or a Leather Pipe, or Pips, of any Length required, (the Screws all fitting each other) *This timber-tome Squirtting Engine*, which take up four times the Room, cannot perform; nor do they throw one 4th Part of their Water on the Fire, at the like Distances, but lose it by the Way; neither are they to be compared with them to much Advantage, whatever Necessity may call for. The Least largest Sizes go upon Wheels, and the Two others are carried like a Chair. Their Performances are as follows, and their Prizes fixed very reasonable, (those found my think otherwise, because his Inventions are secur'd to him by Letters Patent) he having a due Regard to the publick Good, as well as his own Profit, both in these, and divers other Inventions, for several Purposes, which he has been the Inventor whithoer: One Man can quickly and easily move them.

No. of Siz.	What Quantity of Water the Cistern holds in Gallons.	Quantity dischargeable in Gallons.	At what Number of Yards Distance.	Price without Suction.	Price with Suction.
1st.	30	30	26	18 <i>L.</i>	22 <i>L.</i>
2d.	36	36	28	22	23
3d.	65	65	33	32	35
4th.	95	95	36	35	42
5th.	120	120	40	45	50
6th.	170	170	40	60	70

*Martian terris naturam: surgit in altum  
dissimilis perfecta est, qua non prestantur nulli.  
Affinis et domus & annas hancire profundat  
Artibus mundi arcu.*

What was so fascinating to find was the original bill and advertisement by Richard Newsham sent to the Dean and Chapter and this is reproduced in the plate. For ease of reference the letter dated Sept[embe]r 2 [n]d 1725 reads as follows:—

Rever[en]d Sir,

Pursuant to yo[ur] order dated the 27th July last, I have made and perfected an engine of the fourth size—The paint is dry, and has this day played it. It answers to my satisfaction and I hope I need not to dout yo[ur]s. Yours omitted mentioning what length of leather [pipe—scored thro'] sucking pipe you may think convenient. I have prepared one of six foot, but if you are pleased to have 9 foot can have it ready in two days, and this already made will be noe detriment to me. The two lengths of forcing pipe is also ready, And I wait yo[ur] orders how to send it. I am Rever[en]d S[i]r yo[ur] most obed[ian]t to com[m]and Richd Newsham.

The Engine is	40-00-00
80 foot of forcing pipe in two lengths at 18d per foot	6-00-00
Two pairs of brass screws to the same at 10s pair	1-00-00
Six foot sucking pipe at 3/6 per foot	1-01-00
One pair screws to the same at	0-10-00
	£48-11-00

We are fortunate that we know quite a large amount of detail about Richard Newsham and his machine. The account of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that he was originally a pearl button maker carrying on business in the city of London. Richard Newsham obtained patents for a “Water engine for extinguishing fires” on the 26th December, 1721 and had on the 5th June, 1725 obtained a further patent for an “Engine for extinguishing fires”.<sup>10</sup> Whilst the patents do not describe the Newsham machines in any detail they are described and illustrated in J. T. Desculiers, *A course of experimental philosophy* (1744), Volume 2, page 405 onwards. In the *Daily Journal* for the 7th April, 1726 there is an account of one of his engines which threw water as high as the grasshopper on the Royal Exchange or about 160 feet from the ground. There is also a print of a Newsham engine at work at the “late dreadful fire which happened at Cornhill on March 25th, 1748”.<sup>11</sup> An example of the fire engine has survived and was presented by the corporation of Dartmouth to the Science Museum, South Kensington, London.<sup>12</sup>

The Chapter chose wisely since there were rival machines on the market at the time. Blackstone says that when C. T. F. Young wrote his book *Fire, Fire Engines and Fire Brigades* in 1866 many of Newsham’s machines were still in use.<sup>13</sup> The machines because of their long, narrow design could easily pass through an ordinary doorway. It was the revolutionary design of levers on either side of the machine that converted a rocking motion into a simple and effective up-and-down action for the pistons that proved so popular and efficient.

Apparently no drawing or photograph survives of the Newsham machine actually in Canterbury. However, there is a photograph of the Canterbury Cathedral Volunteer Fire Brigade in 1875 with a four-horse country turn-out with postillions in velvet jockey caps and white buckskin breeches.<sup>14</sup> By this time they had changed their Newsham engine. Three years earlier in 1872 the Volunteers had been successful in quenching a fire in the Cathedral itself and a photograph has survived of the firefighters of this event.<sup>15</sup>

### Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Miss Anne Oakley, M.A., F.S.A., Archivist to the Dean and Chapter for her unfailing kindness in allowing me to publish material from the collection in her custody and her help and encouragement. I should also like to record my thanks to Mr. Ken Reedie, M.A., F.S.A.(Scot), A.M.A., for making his files and photographs on the Canterbury Fire Service available to me, also to Dr. Anita McConnell of the Science Museum for her reference to Richard Anderson and her assistance with material in the collections of the museum.

DUNCAN HARRINGTON.

### REFERENCES

1. Cathedral Archives and Library Canterbury (CALC). Dean and Chapter Act Book 1775, 25th Nov., page 11.
2. At a cottage at Payneshill near London. Richard Anderson, *Lightning Conductors their History Nature and Mode of Application*, London 1880.
3. *Annual Register XVIII*, 140.
4. Anderson *op. cit.*: *Bygone Kent*, Vol. 3, No. 12, page 764 gives a 20th century reference to such an accident at Denton.
5. CALC: Chapter Minutes and William Gosling, *A Walk in and about the City of Canterbury*. Canterbury 1777, page 133.
6. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 22nd March, 1769. Letter from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's requesting information and direction from The Royal Society about lightning conductors.
7. CALC: Dean's Minute Books 1718-1742, page 144.
8. CALC: Treasurer's Book 1725. *Expensae Incertae*. The name appears as Robert Lathwell in the vouchers.
9. CALC: Treasurer's vouchers box 1715-1725, bundle 1724/25. Dr. Tenison, treasurer.
10. Bennet Woodcroft, *Alphabetical Index of Patentees of Inventions 1617-1852*. Patents 439 and 479.
11. Illustrated in G. V. Blackstone, *History of the British Fire Service*, London 1957, page 49, together with a Newsham engine of the second size in Manchester Fire Brigade Museum.
12. *Dictionary of National Biography*: Compact Edition, OUP 1975, page 1485 (Original edition page 361), article under Richard Newsham.
13. Blackstone *op. cit.* page 58. This also contains a discussion regarding the design of Newsham's machine and a diagram of the link motion of the engine.
14. Blackstone *op. cit.* page 225.
15. CALC: Print and photograph collection, and at Canterbury Museum photograph 161, 3rd Sept., 1872.

## BENJAMIN HARRISON: ARCHDEACON, BENEFACTOR, TRACTARIAN

The name of Benjamin Harrison will always be linked with Canterbury Cathedral Library. Archdeacon of Maidstone and a Residentiary Canon from 1845 until his death in 1887, towards the end of his life he gave to the Cathedral his own library of some 16,000 books, pamphlets, and periodicals. Many of these had been left to Harrison by Archbishop William Howley, whom he had served as Chaplain, or by Sir Robert Harry Inglis, M.P. for Oxford University, joint guardian of his wife Isabella in her early years. The important pamphlet material covers the slavery question and other political and social topics as well as the religious controversies of the 19th century.

The circumstances of Harrison's gift are described in part by George Smith in his *Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral*, published in 1883. The books had already been housed in the Library for some time when, as the Chapter Minutes confirm, it was decided at the end of 1879 that the 'old library', which had not been used for ten years, should be refurbished and made ready to accommodate them permanently. By 1883 this plan had been carried out.

There is, however, a more particular reason for remembering Harrison in 1983-84: his involvement in the early stages of the Oxford Movement, the 150th anniversary of which the Church of England has been celebrating. The young Harrison was himself the author of four of the *Tracts for The Times*, numbers XVI, XVII, XXIV and XLIX. Their respective titles are: Advent, The ministerial commission, The Scripture view of the Apostolic commission, and The Kingdom of Heaven. All are short, but no. XLIX, the longest, is of some interest as an exposition of the Tractarians' doctrine of the Church. Harrison also joined in the controversy at Oxford over the appointment of R. D. Hampden as Regius Professor of Divinity: with Pusey, he wrote a pamphlet criticising Hampden's theological position.

When in 1838 Harrison left Oxford and the study of Hebrew to become Chaplain to Archbishop Howley and a Six Preacher of Canterbury, it was with the encouragement of Pusey, his mentor. But the hope of a strong Tractarian influence at Lambeth was disappointed, and Pusey came to regard the episode as an 'unfortunate experiment'. Although Harrison was only thirty-four at this time, he was no firebrand. His career illustrates the problems involved in defining the Oxford Movement, and the difficulty of tracing its consequences without, unreasonably, crediting it with everything that happened in the Victorian Church.

In doctrinal matters, Harrison's conservatism never wavered. For example, in the 1870s he ranged himself alongside Pusey on the question of 'eternal punishment'. But his loyalty was to the Book of Common Prayer and the Articles of the Church of England, not to any party. It is perhaps significant that, during his time at Oxford, some of the University's most prominent divines were investigating the connections between the Prayer Book and Articles and the doctrines of the Early Church. Charles Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford until his death in

1830; Edward Burton, Hampden's distinguished predecessor; and William Palmer, of Worcester College—all these men were involved. Under the influence of Howley, Harrison intervened in the rubrical controversy which disturbed the Church in the years after 1842. His painstaking *Historical inquiry into the true interpretation of the Rubrics in the Book of Common prayer respecting the sermon and the Communion Service*, published in 1845, cannot have pleased the Bishop of Exeter, Henry Phillpotts, or his allies among the Tractarians. Its tone was pacific (even soporific), but on the most controversial point, the wearing of the surplice in the pulpit, it found against Phillpotts and in favour of the wearing of the academic gown.

It was in that same year that Harrison was appointed Archdeacon of Maidstone. This post had been created in 1841 and annexed to a Residentiary Canonry of Canterbury. He proved to be punctilious in the fulfilment of his duties as a Canon, often serving as Vice-Dean, notably during the last years of Dean Lyall. According to A. P. Stanley, himself a Canon at this time, he was a remarkably good administrator. When Henry Alford became Dean, he, too, was impressed. In a letter of April 1857 he wrote: 'Harrison is really an acquisition to one's acquaintance—a ripe, though somewhat stiff scholar, and a nice, friendly Christian fellow'. Anyone who is familiar with Harrison's library will know that his 'stiffness' was not unlike pedantry. A newspaper obituarist was to say of him: 'The one thing he could never allow to pass was an inaccurate statement'. Many of the books and pamphlets he owned are riddled with his corrections, extending even to small typographical errors. He can also be criticised for his resistance to such developments as Stanley's encouragement of visitors to the Cathedral and Alford's introduction of Sunday afternoon sermons.

On the other hand, the most important changes at Canterbury—and the other Cathedrals—in the 19th century were, indirectly, the work of none other than Archbishop Howley. The reforms demanded by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and embodied in an Act of 1840 could not be effectively resisted. Between 1841 and 1852 six of the twelve prebendal stalls at Canterbury were suppressed, while the Dean and Chapter became financially dependent on the Commissioners. Harrison's attitude seems to have been to do his best within the system to maximise the power of the Chapter and its income. In 1880 he addressed a memorandum on these lines to the Cathedral Establishments Commission set up in the previous year.

Harrison's good nature and moderation were seen to particular advantage in his work as Archdeacon. At a time when bishops like Samuel Wilberforce were setting fresh standards in diocesan administration and pastoral care, the ancient office of archdeacon was assuming a new importance. The appointment of Harrison to succeed Lyall coincided with a great enlargement of the new Archdeaconry of Maidstone: to the Deaneries of Sutton, Charing, and Sittingbourne were added the parishes of Croydon and Addington, the Deanery of Shoreham (previously a 'peculiar'), the Deanery of Malling, and the non-metropolitan portion of the Deanery of Dartford. He at once began holding regular visitations, and soon became a familiar and popular figure in the parishes. His charges were invariably published, and over



*Archdeacon Benjamin Harrison*

the years they dealt with many controversial issues of the time: national education, the Gorham case, church rates, ritual, the burials question. Scholarly in substance and restrained in tone, they illustrate his observation in his charge of 1871 that his role was that of one 'opening rather than concluding' questions. Only in 1878 did he really let himself go, when in a long appendix he denounced F. W. Farrar's sermon on 'Eternal hope'. Farrar, liberal in theology and one of the best-known churchmen of his day, was eventually to come to Canterbury as Dean.

Harrison had a special interest in the restoration of churches. In the Archdeaconry of Maidstone as elsewhere, great progress was made on this front in the years after 1840. If the building, extension, and remodelling of churches in the Gothic style owed something to Tractarian spirituality, it was more directly due to the efforts of the ecclesiologists of the Cambridge Camden Society and of strong-minded individuals such as W. F. Hook, the Vicar of Leeds. Harrison's own policy was, he said, 'restoration, not destruction, of ancient work, with adaptation of the interiors to the increasing wants of our growing population'. A committee member of the Society for the Building and Repair of Churches, he was also involved in the posthumous publication in 1877 of Sir Stephen Glynne's *Notes on the churches of Kent*, contributing to the book a number of footnotes on recent work. Especially significant in the context of the liturgical ideas of his time is his note on St. Michael's, Sittingbourne: 'Chancel arranged chorally'.

In the City of Canterbury, Harrison's interests included the Kent and Canterbury Hospital, the Wincheap Industrial School, a group of almshouses at Thanington, and a 'House of Refuge' for young women. In London, where he owned a house in Bedford Square, he served on the committee which in 1885, after several years' labour, produced the Revised Version of the Old Testament. He lived to become the doyen of the Lower House of Convocation, which he had helped to revive. Such duties as these seem to have brought him contentment: there was something of Septimus Harding in the old Archdeacon. Never a traveller, in the last seventeen years before his final illness he was only once absent from Sunday service in the Cathedral he loved. He grew more garrulous as time went on. In their history of the King's School, Woodruff and Cape tell of a cold winter's day in 1879-80, when, owing to the re-seating of the Quire, the services were being held in the Chapter House. 'Archdeacon Harrison, then in residence, abated not a jot of his customary amplitude of discourse; and even the Dean was heard to suggest an extemporized bleeding of the nose to affect an escape, "Though", he added, "the sermon was a good one thirty years ago!".' (as Robert Payne Smith was not known for his humour or the brevity of his own sermons, this story may, one suspects, be apocryphal.)

Harrison's death at the age of 79 called forth many tributes. 'Quietly and unostentatiously', observed the *Kentish Gazette*, 'he went about doing good to the poor and afflicted . . .' It avoided mere eulogy by quoting one or two blunt truths from the *Pall Mall Gazette*: for example, 'He was a rigid Tory'. In Convocation, Archdeacon Farrar, while recalling their differences over eschatology, spoke warmly of Harrison's 'great learning and his genial and simple goodness'. Canon Henry Bailey of Canterbury recalled his reconciling role in the creation of St.

Augustine's College. The remarks of the Prolocutor, Archdeacon G. H. Sumner, deserve to be quoted at some length, for they exhibit to us with a rare clarity both Garrison's virtues and his limitations:

'All of us were familiar with his face and person, all of us knew him and loved him, and although a few of us, especially the younger members who did not know him so well, may have been sometimes a little impatient at the frequency and length of his speeches, all of us regarded him with sympathy, affection, and love . . . Ever since he was married his wife gave him every day a little nosegay for his coat, and when he was absent from home it was always sent to him by post . . .'

In 1880, the Diocese commissioned a drawing of Garrison from George Richmond. Thus he still smiles upon his library. But his correspondence is lost, and although he loved to talk of those far-off days in Oxford, when the Tractarian movement was young, he would not be persuaded to commit his recollections to the press.

BRIAN M. HOGBEN.

## ARCHBISHOP THOMAS HERRING AND CANTERBURY

Thomas Herring was a reluctant Archbishop of Canterbury. Translated from York, he had eventually accepted that unwelcome advancement at the insistence of his friend and patron, Philip Hardwicke, the Lord Chancellor. Two other prelates had refused, the aged Gibson of London and Sherlock of Salisbury. Sherlock pleaded age and infirmities (as had Gibson), but, to Herring's dismay, within a short time accepted the See of London (on Gibson's death), there to plague Herring with his contentious stand on matters of ecclesiastical policy. Herring was but the third Archbishop of York to be translated: the twentieth century has had four such translations—a record far exceeding all previous centuries.

He was one of the most amiable and kindly of Archbishops, but, alas, his career, and particularly his last ten years at Canterbury, illustrated all too clearly the lamentable subordination of the Church to the Whig Administration—the “Old Corps”, of which Henry Pelham (who died in 1754), Hardwicke and Pelham's brother, the Duke of Newcastle, were the chief members. Newcastle, the “Ecclesiastical Minister”, was the principal manager of Church appointments.

At York in 1745 Herring had been instrumental in bringing together in a Loyal Association “men of all parties” to resist the Jacobite invader. He had toured the Diocese, and was universally popular. His Visitation Returns of 1743, and the comments he made on them, are a major source for the study of eighteenth century Church history. They show him to be a diligent pastor, deeply concerned for his clergy, fearful of the supposed disloyalty of papists (disproved during the '45), and alarmed at the growth of Methodism. The Returns show plainly the inadequacy of the then parochial structure to provide a ministry to the rapidly increasing population, particularly in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

It took Herring some time to settle into Lambeth (which he never liked) and from 1753 he spent most of his time at Croydon. Indeed for the last four years he suffered increasingly from ill health, and was less and less inclined to attend to business. Ordinations were mostly by letters dimissory to other bishops, though occasionally he ordained personally at Lambeth or Croydon.

While there is some evidence in his correspondence that he was sensitive to any political stirrings in Kent likely to endanger the loyalty of the clergy to the Administration (“The King's Friends will certainly find their account in obliging the clergy”), there was no relationship with the gentry of the County such as Herring had enjoyed in Yorkshire. Pre-occupation with such Primal duties as he was able to perform impeded that close association with County leaders which had so notably characterised the years at his beloved Bishopthorpe.

William Wake's antiquarian interests and respect for ecclesiastical propriety had led him to insist on enthronement at Canterbury, but Herring was enthroned by proxy (Dr. Samuel Holcombe). Wake, too, with characteristic regard for precision in institutional forms, insisted that the oath requiring residence at Canterbury should be omitted, the

palace having been in ruins since the Civil War. However, Herring visited Canterbury in 1749, when Alderman William Gray, the Mayor, recorded in his notebook that the Archbishop, accompanied by Bishop Mawson of Chichester, had come to the Guildhall. (Mawson was an old Cambridge associate, and frequently accompanied Herring on his tours. A modern historian accordingly dubbed him "the Sancho Panza of the Georgian Episcopate".) Gray also noted that "His Grace preacheth in the Choir on these words, For our conversation is in Heaven. Afterward we the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriff and Town Clerk dined with him in the Deanery same day", and a few days later Gray sent Herring "fourteen brace of Trout, one brace of Perch and some gudgeons". It was during this Primary Visitation that Herring described to Hardwicke the honours done to him by the civic and military authorities at Dover, where he had dined with the Mayor. The day had been fine and the prospect from the pierhead "full of delight and wonder", though, he added, "the Coenae Pontificium and ye Repetition of a pitiful charge begin to tire me".

There are for these ten years no records comparable with the York Visitation Returns on 1743. Yet the replies to Archdeacon John Head's Articles of Enquiry, preceding his Visitation in 1750, provide some useful evidence on the condition of Church fabric and ornaments, and are supplemented considerably by three Accounts, giving the names of patrons and incumbents, the value of livings and the number of families in each parish. They also record whether or not the incumbent was resident (and, if not, how otherwise the parish was served), the frequency of services and of the administration of the Sacrament, the times for catechising and incidental comments on the clergy, local problems, buildings and ornaments, with some references to Dissenters. The Archdeacon added a few comments on the parishes, and Herring occasionally added a personal note. The Third Account had also some observations by Archbishop Secker (a note on Hays in the Peculiar of the Deanery of Shoreham read: "Mr. W. Pitt in this Parish. Constant at Church and Sacrament".) Secker's Returns are useful on the state of the Diocese in 1758 and particularly on the growth of Dissent in Herring's time.

The Head (archidiaconal) Returns and Accounts revealed some troubles over repairs (not least of chancels), frequent lack of plastering and white-washing, and the poor condition of some parsonages, though his conclusion *on the whole* was that churches and houses within the Archdeaconry were in good and decent repair. Nothing, however, could compensate for the ill effects of non-residence and pluralism. Most churches had one service each Sunday and the Sacrament three or four times a year (Deal once a month), but the poverty of so many livings made pluralism inevitable, and a number of clergy held office at a considerable distance from their cures, an ill-paid curate discharging the duties. At Fordwich, for instance, Earl Cowper had presented Spencer Cowper, Dean of Durham, to the Rectory. It was from Bath that, on 21 May, 1749, Spencer Cowper wrote that he was

"... engaged to attend the Archbishop's Visitation at Canterbury the latter end of this month. This I do as Rector of Fordwicke, and as I had pay'd the Comptt to his worthless predecessor, I had no mind to be less Civil to him."

In the *Account* the word "resides" was written only three times of eighteen incumbents in the Dover Deanery, three of twenty-six in the Sittingbourne Deanery and eight of twenty-two in the Sandwich Deanery. Of Canterbury it was noted:

"In the City are fifteen Parishes, twelve of which are United. And as all the churches are subsisting, the Service is usually at each Church alternately. So that each united Parish has Prayers twice and a Sermon once every Lord's Day. In some Parishes there are two Sermons."

At Snargate the situation was such as to provoke the Archdeacon to a general comment: "I had here, as well as in many other places, occasion to observe the bad effects of non-residence, in the Church, as well as in the Minister's House".

There is evidence in Secker's 1758 Returns of considerable numbers of Dissenting congregations, but it was the Methodists who were perceptibly growing in numbers in Herring's time, especially in Canterbury. Some were in the parish of St. Alphege with St. Mary Northgate, but they were all "of low rank", and at St. Dunstan's "some parishioners go to the Methodist meeting, but to Church also".

The Dean was John Lynch, Wake's son-in-law, and the son of a former High Sheriff of Kent. Appointed in 1734, he normally resided at Lambeth until Wake's death in 1737, after which he divided his time between the Deanery and his family home, Groves, near Staple. He had known Herring at Cambridge, and, in spite of a passing difference on the Archbishop's rights as Visitor, was on the whole well disposed to him, and entertained him at the Deanery. During the '45 he had been "forward by his purse and influence to shew his attachment to our excellent Constitution, as he was by his conversations and sermons to expose the dangers of Popery". He was liberal in his patronage of charities and in his contributions to the improvement of the Deanery and prebendal houses.

To Herring's Articles of Enquiry in 1749 the Dean and Chapter declared their statutes to be operative and the membership of the Cathedral body complete, except for two sackbutters and corneteers and the officers of the common table (no longer required, as the common table was not kept up). All had taken the required oaths.

The Dean, "a byword for pluralism" as Wake's biographer described him, was Treasurer of Salisbury and Prebendary of Calne; Dr. Geekie was Archdeacon of Gloucester, Dr. Potter Archdeacon of Oxford. All Six Preachers and minor canons held one or more benefices. Nevertheless, it was claimed that the requirements of residence were met, and that at all times of the year a "statutable number" of prebendaries were resident.

The choir and officers were said to be at full strength (choristers were regularly catechised), though six substitute places were kept vacant, with the consent of the Archbishop, to augment the stipends of the minor canons, and a lay clerk's place was annexed to the office of organist to make adequate provision for him. Divine service was said or sung in accordance with the statutes, and the Sacrament administered

on all Sundays and on Christmas Day. There was, it was claimed, no lack of duty on the part of the Canons in respect of preaching. Monuments were safely kept, and properties were in good repair. Such offences as were contrary to the canons of the Church of England, or even crimes within the precincts, were on so small a scale that they could be corrected "by a speedy admonition as our Statutes direct". Such was the contented reply advanced by the Chapter.

In 1753 the answers to most of the articles in a second formal Visitation were identical with those of 1749, but it was reported of the King's School that "the schoolmasters as we think do their duty very well and come with their Scholars to Church all in their proper Habits on Holy Days and Eves unless called abroad on urgent occasions . . .".

The school had fallen on evil days with the appointment of Richard Talbot as Head Master in 1747. Talbot was married to Anne Lynch, the Dean's sister, and he held successively two benefices, the second (Stone near Dartford) until his death in 1754. By May, 1749, the number of pupils had fallen from 90 to 58, and even the King's Scholars were not at full strength. The Chapter's reply to Herring's question in 1749 was an approving comment on the masters and the quality of the instruction but a critical observation on the misconduct of the Head Master by which "as we apprehend the School has been for some time in a declining state". Talbot evidently thought attack the best means of defence: he petitioned Herring for an increase of stipend (under Statute 33), and asked (under Statute 31) for confirmation of his claim that all the King's Scholars were the Master's sole responsibility. The Chapter objected to the first, and refuted the second by referring to Statute 28 which gave the Under Master control of some of the King's Scholars. They urged Herring to dismiss a "vexatious complaint and petition", which he did after considering the matter "again and again".

Yet troubles continued. Samuel Shepherd of Faversham complained that his son Julius, a King's Scholar, had been brutally treated by Talbot, alleging that he had kicked him "on ye Belly at one Time, and beating him at another with an hazelstick till he broke it on him". In February, 1750, Dr. Stedman, the Vice-Dean, and Dr. Ayerst, the Treasurer, presented to the Chapter an adverse report on Talbot, having questioned Gurney, the Under Master, and Howdell, Talbot's assistant. General misconduct and absenteeism on Talbot's part prompted the Chapter to fix a monition to his desk, and on 2 May he was allowed to resign. His successor was Osmund Beauvoir, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and son of that William Beauvoir who, when Chaplain to the Ambassador in Paris, had corresponded with Wake. Osmund was himself a former King's Scholar, and he rapidly re-established the reputation of the school, over which he presided for the next thirty-five years. Hence the favourable comment by the Chapter to Herring in 1753.

Within the Chapter there was a dispute on the legality of the form of certain leases where the rent was made payable, partly to the body corporate, partly to particular persons. Three prebendaries took issue with the Dean, and appealed to the Archbishop. The affair dragged on from May, 1753, to July, 1756, and it occupied a disproportionate

amount of Herring's correspondence on Canterbury business. As Visitor he first turned to Dr. George Lee, Dean of the Arches, whose initial advice was that the whole capitular revenue should be subjected to the repair of the fabric ("sumptibus ecclesiae surely implies that"), though he surmised that a determination to that effect would not be "relished" at Canterbury. He thought that the Chapter could not, consistently with the statutes, "grant leases to separate a part of the revenues from the general mass and oblige their tenants to pay a part of their rents to a particular member who is not a statutable person to receive them", though they might surrender part of their own revenue to increase that of the Dean. Herring referred what he called his "Canterbury tale" to Hardwicke, but meanwhile the Dean filed a bill in Chancery, which, Herring thought, was approaching "unfair dealing", bypassing the Visitor's right to interpret the statutes. His request for a formal capitular response showed a majority in favour of the Dean. The issue, as Lee pointed out, was simply whether or not, without breach of the statutes, the Dean could personally claim the severalties he enjoyed and whether the Chapter could grant them to him. Herring's desire for a quiet life was less disturbed by the Dean's persistence than by the fractious behaviour of the opposition. Two prebendaries were particularly difficult. He described the Reverend Thomas Tanner as one "who partakes a little of the mule", and of Dr. Arthur Young he wrote: "He is of all men I have ever conversed with the most untractable, and the infelicity of that temper is the greater when it goes along with so robust a constitution".

In the end Lee, supported by Charles Yorke, the Solicitor-General, advised Herring to give judgement with the reservation "so far as I legally may", as a superior jurisdiction had been invoked. The conclusion was that it was not inconsistent with the statutes to make leases in which specified sums were reserved to the Dean (or other superior officers of the Cathedral), by way of augmentation of their allowances for the better support of their dignity and station. The Chapter, "tired of the squabble", agreed to accept Herring's judgement. It had been a prolonged and tiresome rift in that body, a defiant faction confronting a determined Dean, the latter benefiting from the compromise. The dispute had involved not only the Archbishop but also the Lord Chancellor, the Solicitor-General and the Dean of the Arches. It was the measure of Herring's increasing dependence on others—though indeed he had always been guided by Hardwicke—and of the growing nervousness of his last years that on such a matter he consulted such eminent authorities.

"Callousness and coarseness" are characteristics wholly inappropriate to describe Herring's habitual disposition, yet these were the words used by Canon S. L. Ollard, the editor of the 1743 York Visitation Returns, over the correspondence on the remains of St. Anselm at Canterbury. Ollard wrote sympathetically of Herring's qualities, but found offensive his reaction to a request from the Sardinian Envoy for St. Anselm's relics. The letters have been published, and it will suffice here to summarise the exchange with the Dean and Chapter. Herring first told the Dean that the Bishop of Aosta (from which Anselm had come) had initiated the scheme for transferring the relics, and urged him not to be over-scrupulous, for

"If I had (scruples) I would get rid of them all if the parting with the rotten Remains of a Rebel to his King, a Slave to the Popedom, and an enemy to the married Clergy (all this Anselm was) would purchase Ease and indulgence to one living Protestant . . . and really for this End I should make no Conscience of palming on the Simpletons any other old Bishop with the name of Anselm."

Having seen the Sardinian Ambassador, who wanted to be present at the opening of the tomb, Herring supposed that

"the old Tomb has ponderous and marble Jaws so that it will make some noise to effect this important Work, but sure you have no Protestant Virgers that can look upon this as Diana of the Ephesians."

Samuel Shuckford, a Prebendary and the then historian of the Foundation, reported to the Archbishop that colleagues he had tried to consult were all (surprisingly) confined to their houses, and that the Dean had advised deferment of the matter! He informed Herring that Anselm's remains, like Lanfranc's, had first been removed to the Chapel which subsequently bore his name and, upon his canonisation, to a shrine destroyed at the Reformation. They could not now be found. Shuckford expressed his opinions in terms which, however obliquely, reproached Herring for his insensitivity. An antiquary, P. Bradley, propounded a theory that Anselm's remains were in Archbishop Theobald's tomb, and Herring sent to the Dean a letter to that effect. There the episode ended.

Dr. William Urry described mediaeval devotion to St. Anselm, and concluded that at the Reformation the Saint's remains suffered the same fate as those of Becket and others. He used the Herring letters to illustrate that there was "something like a very antithesis of a cult of St. Anselm in the eighteenth century." They were typical of contemporary contempt for the Middle Ages—particularly what William Warburton called "the Church sanctity" of monks and hermits, the source of superstition and fanaticism. David Hume exemplified the temper of the age when he wrote of Becket and pilgrimages to Canterbury:

"It is indeed a mortifying reflection to those who are actuated by the love of fame, so justly denominated the last infirmity of noble minds, that the wisest legislator and most exalted genius that every reformed or enlightened the world, can never expect such tributes of praise as are lavished on the memory of pretended saints, whose whole conduct was probably to the last degree odious or contemptible, and whose industry was entirely directed to the pursuit of objects pernicious to mankind. It is only a conqueror, a personage no less entitled to our hatred, who can pretend to the attainment of equal renown and glory."

It was the letters on the Anselm affair which prompted J. Wickham Legge to assert that "with Herring heresy sat in the primatial chair of Canterbury". It was a mistaken view. Herring was certainly a Latitudinarian—and a friend of Benjamin Hoadly, that consummate Latitudinarian—but his letters and sermons, while imbued with the "rationalist" language of his time, were those of a Christian, not a Deist. The charge of theological banality would be just, and his dislike of

doctrinal controversy was undisguised. His xenophobia, his fear of popery, his dislike of the “frenzies” of Methodism, his rooted belief that the then Establishment “with the Toleration” was the ideal constitution for the Church, never to be changed: all these were symptomatic of his limitations. Yet his arid *theology*, such as it was, did not negate his genuine Christian *religion*. It is always a mistake to judge all divines of that age as if they merely topped the cake of natural theology with a thin spread of the icing of revelation.

“Mild and humane” were epithets appropriately applied to Thomas Herring. His personal qualities mark him out as one of the most attractive Archbishops. At Canterbury, however, the reluctant Primate was constantly depressed by the sense of his own inadequacy, and pessimistic about the immorality and corruption of society, doubting the likely efficacy of episcopal admonition, for “the times will bear very little of this from The Ecclesiasticks”.

ROBERT T. HOLTY,  
*Dean of Chichester.*

## DR. JOHN BARGRAVE AND HIS COLLECTION

One of the most unusual of the many treasures at Canterbury, in the care of the Dean and Chapter, is the Bargrave Collection. This small, private museum of a much-travelled seventeenth-century gentleman will have been in the Cathedral Library for three hundred years next year.

Dr. John Bargrave himself belonged very firmly to Canterbury and its immediate neighbourhood. His father, another John, came from a long line of tanners and yeomen at Willesborough, just outside Ashford, whom we can also trace at Wye, Faversham, Dover and, eventually, at Bridge and Patrixbourne a couple of miles south-east of Canterbury. This earlier John seems to have fought as a mercenary in the Dutch Wars at the end of Elizabeth's reign. He invested in the early stages of the colonisation of Virginia. One of his brothers, Captain George, commanded a ship sailing there, and another, the Reverend Thomas, left his Sussex rectory to go out as a minister to the colonists. A much younger brother, Isaac, went out to Venice as embassy chaplain and rose rapidly in the church to be Dean of Canterbury from 1625 until his death in 1643.

The older John Bargrave prospered, perhaps by some unrecorded military exploit like a lucky capture of a wealthy enemy, whom he could ransom, or a bit of quiet piracy. Or perhaps his wife, a London merchant's daughter, was something of an heiress. He built a country house at Patrixbourne and gave it the Latin name *Bifrons*, "the two-faced" or "double-fronted". Here the younger John, our collector, grew up with an older brother and three younger sisters. He went to the King's School in the close and on to Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship. In his fifties, our John returned home to Canterbury as a Six Preacher and then Canon until his death in 1683.

But John Bargrave's collection has nothing at all to do with Canterbury. It has to do with almost the whole of the known world of his day. There are specimens from America, Asia, Africa and from most parts of Europe, France, Germany, Austria and, above all, Italy, but none from Britain. Not many of the individual objects are of very great intrinsic merit: of fifteen antique figurines, four seem to be genuine, eight are fakes, while the remaining three are doubtful. Continental nobles and princes often had an ornate mountain of silver ore from the Tyrol. Bargrave brought home a sensible small pocket-sized lump. But he took the trouble to write down the story, vividly bringing to us more than three centuries later the day in November 1656 when he got the lump. As an example of his many stories, it is worth quoting in full:

"At Hall, near Insprugg in Tiroll, among the hearts of the Alps, I had the curiosity to be droven in a wheelbarrow almost 2 miles under ground, to see the labourers there in the gold and silver mines belonging to the Archduke of that country. It was horrid to go thither, and more horrid to see, but they told us the Emperor and the Empress, and all the royal house of Austria use out of curiosity to go thither. I and my companion having on canvass frocks to keep us from the wet and filth, we having a mountain of the Alps 3 or 4 mile high over our heads, and a

torrent of water under us, and a bridge of boards most of the way. When we came into the vast high vaults, where hundreds and hundreds of men or Vulcans were at work, one of the overseers (a genteel person), out of courtesy, would have let us see their art by blowing up a part of the mine by gunpowder; but we durst not venture it. This stone is a piece of the ore they digg out of those mines, out of which, by the force of fire, is extracted the silver and the gould, being separated from the dross, which is there cast up and down into great hills near the places where the fornices for melting are."

This vivid tale takes us back, not only to Austria in the 1650s, but also to the prebendal lodgings in the close at Canterbury, now Linacre House of the King's School, and, as we read the words, we can almost see John Bargrave's twinkling eyes as he told and retold his visitors how he preferred not to experience an underground explosion in the mines, while this lump of ore from the actual mines was passed from hand to hand.

In this intensely personal quality, Bargrave's collection seems to be unique. It is unique too in other ways: there still survive several early lists of objects as well as Bargrave's own handwritten catalogue. Various specimens, such as little chunks of stone from the Colosseum or the Arch of Constantine at Rome, are still wrapped in the actual scraps of paper in which Bargrave wrapped and labelled them in 1647. Others still have the stands on which they stood on his shelves. Four of the bags and purses and ten of the little pill-boxes in which Bargrave packed his souvenirs still remain today. These lists, labels, stands, early containers and collectors' tales give the collection a unique completeness that cannot be matched in this country and may prove to be unmatched abroad.

John Bargrave's one wild adventure, to Africa, took place when he was fifty-two, just settled at last as a Canon of Canterbury, after fourteen years wandering and touring on the Continent as a travelling tutor. He was sent out to the piratical port of Algiers to ransom captured British seamen and merchants. He took with him £10,000 in foreign coin and came home with 162 Englishmen whom he had "bought slave by slave from each particular Turkish patron, as one buyeth horses in Smithfield." This trip also produced a number of touching mementoes. The collection still contains the portrait of the Dey of Algiers, a miserable piece of work artistically, but painted by an Italian slave-painter while Bargrave was negotiating with, and slipping extra bribes to, the Dey. A pair of long boots and three pairs of slippers represent local Algerian crafts. The ransomed slaves' gratitude is marked by a most remarkable set of North American Indian ceremonial costume, brought back probably from deep in Hudson's Bay by some early voyage of exploration. And finally the wildlife of Africa is there in the form of a dried Chameleon, which died from lack of flies on the voyage home.

Almost every object that was in Bargrave's house when he died in 1683 survives today. For three centuries they have been kept in the Cathedral Library in three small cabinets. One cabinet had belonged to the learned Meric Casaubon, an elder colleague of Bargrave's on the Chapter. Another very like it was made for Bargrave in Canterbury in

about 1670. The third must have been made for the Library soon after 1685, to house the objects from Bargrave's study-shelves. Many of the specimens are in astonishingly good condition.

But alas, the collection cannot be freely visited because of the risk of deterioration. An illustrated handlist, *The Gentle Traveller*, has been published and may be bought for £1 from the Cathedral Library. Study of the collection is under way, with the help of a generous grant from the British Academy, and a detailed account will be published. One day, we must hope, suitable premises will become available for this amazing and unique reminder of a never-quite-forgotten Canon to be displayed to the public under suitable lighting and atmospheric conditions.

DAVID STURDY.



Bargrave "Casaubon" Case

# GEORGE BELL, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER

DEAN OF CANTERBURY, 1924-29

*A sermon preached in Canterbury Cathedral on Sunday, 17th July, 1983 by the Revd. Prof. Gordon Rupp, F.B.A., D.D.*

## Ecclesiasticus 47, 14

'How wise you were . . . in your youth:  
Your mind was like a brimming river:  
Your influence spread throughout the world  
Your fame reached distant islands.  
And you were loved for your peace.'

Most of us know very well the 44th Chapter of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, that great Roll of Honour of the People of God which begins 'Let us now praise famous men', but perhaps not many read on to the next chapters with their splendid thumb nail sketches of the Leaders of Israel, including this beautiful description of the young king, Solomon. They seem to me to fit our commemoration of George Bell, in those years when he was Dean of Canterbury, on this day when the Friends of Canterbury meet to praise him as a famous man, and their father who begat them.

He was 41 years old when he came here, but he had a young man's mind, 'brimming like a river' with hopes and with ideas. 'Throughout his life said Charles Smyth in a notable tribute 'he had a surprisingly youthful appearance, which was the outward appearance of a mind that never aged, or staled or narrowed, but retained to an astonishing degree the freshness of imagination, the eager curiosity, and the intellectual vitality of youth.' Or as Archbishop Fisher said of him 'he had never been old at heart: as all young people do, he was looking forward, seeing visions, dreaming dreams, contriving, devising'. Or as he put it himself, more blithely

'We were young, we were wise, and very, very merry,  
And founded the Friends of Canterbury.'

In a few months he quietly turned the place inside out in Dr. Jasper's words 'into a place welcoming rather than repelling visitors'. He abolished admission charges. He streamlined the services, and who but he would first have consulted the young gentlemen of the choir, who seem to have been unanimous recommending brevity but also made the startling suggestion of a sung eucharist. He made the Cathedral a centre for celebrations, in words and music, and for great ecumenical gestures, always treasuring the past, a care never better displayed than when he restored the historic splendours of the Enthronement service.

Then, on 20th July, 1927 he announced the formation of the 'Friends of Canterbury Cathedral as a body of supporters who are prepared to take some share in caring and preserving it'. What a Cathedral really is, none but its lovers know. They are the safe custodians.

Himself a poet and historian, it was in relation to the Arts that he made his most famous innovations. As regards drama, there was perhaps something to live down. In 1723 Archbishop Wake, who had let

his palace to his predecessor's widow, found to his horror that she had sub-let it to a troupe of travelling players who announced a series of entertainments during Lent. He wrote in anger:

'That a woman of your age and infirmities just going to give an account to God of your actions should let a parcel of wretched fellows, hated of God and of all good Christians exercise their wicked trade and employment, grieves my soul, madam, as it ought to grieve yours . . . for God's sake, Madam, turn out these wretched creatures with contempt out of my house.'

Mrs. Juxon gave as good as she got, but the great row stopped just short of another murder in the Cathedral. But now, two hundred years later, the players were welcomed home, and drama added to craftsman's art and music's measure, to the greater glory of God.

But he himself had the quality of what old Baedecker called 'Sehenswürdigkeit'. Nobody who met him forgot those blue eyes and the warming smile. Archbishop Söderblom spoke of his 'two large, round eyes which shone with the life of the soul behind'. Dryden's words about his ideal parson were true of him.

'His eyes diffused a venerable grace  
And charity itself was in his face.'

Nor can we remember him without thinking of his splendid partner, his wife, his Hetty, and of Philip Guedalla's quip, 'Wives of great men all remind us we can make our lives sublime'.

To be young, to be wise, and very, very merry belonged to the 1920's. But in the 1930's four horsemen of the Apocalypse, violence, persecution, bloodshed and war rode out upon our world, and when George Bell left here to become Bishop of Chichester it was to be involved in a grimmer ministry of reconciliation.

When the first refugee pastors and their families came here from Hitler's Germany he was the first to come to their help and when in 1940 numbers of them with lawyers and scientists were interned at Huyton, it was to him that they turned in a great correspondence—'My wife is ill . . .' 'My husband needs new shoes'—and Franz Hildebrandt has told how he came upon the bishop as he faced this great pile of letters. He suggested he might deal with them and send a duplicated letter but he did not forget the look of horror on the Bishop's face at the suggestion. He would write to each one with his own hand. Causes mattered to him but individual men and women counted for more. There are people still alive in Germany who treasure every memory of the man they called 'Uncle George'.

Had he been a mediaeval bishop his deeds might have been recorded in stained glass windows, those ineffable strip cartoons. Here are three such roundels.

In the first, the Bishop is rising to address the House of Lords, a sea of hostile faces. It is to be a speech protesting against obliteration bombing of civilians in great cities. Lord Woolton leans over and speaks to him. 'George . . . you are going to make a speech, and there isn't a soul in this house who doesn't wish you wouldn't make that speech . . . but I also want to tell you that there isn't a soul who doesn't know that the only

reason you are going to make it is because you believe it is your duty as a Christian priest.'

At the end of the War, in October, 1945, he went to Germany with leaders of the allied churches, and in a typical ecumenical gesture took me, a Methodist, with him as his chaplain and interpreter. My other two pictures are of what I saw.

A great railway station in Berlin, the Lehrter Bahnhof—its roof blown apart, no trains, no lines, but a great mass of human beings in the last stages of hunger and exhaustion, mostly very old and very young, and teen-aged girls with bandaged feet.

I had a bar of Dairy Milk chocolate in my pocket but when I took it out I was told to put it away or people would be killed fighting for it. The bishop walked ahead of the rest of us—he knew no German so could not speak to them, but he was gathering the facts and in the next days there was launched the fund 'Christian Reconstruction in Europe' which in our time has swollen into Christian Aid.

And my third picture—an Ecumenical service in Berlin that same week—in the 'Marienkirche'. Outside the church Russian sentries stood guard with fixed bayonets: inside the church a great congregation of people with grey faces and empty hearts—who stared towards the high altar beside which stood four Christians in the uniforms of the Occupying Powers—Russian, French, American and English. And in the pulpit Bishop Bell simply told the story from the gospels, of the man who was desperately ill, but he had four friends, who lifted him up and carried him and laid him at the feet of Jesus.

What have those pictures to do with the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral? Much, every way.

The Panama Canal is a miracle of engineering which joins two great oceans, two halves of the world. Its working is controlled in a single building, in which on a large table there is an exact model of the canal itself. The model really works, for as men press the buttons and pull the levers, the lock gates open and shut, and the great ships occupy their business. But if, in some accident, you could cut the cable between that room and the canal, the men in it would be reduced to nothing, their words, their gestures would have no meaning, no effect whatever. It is a parable of Christian worship, if you will about a Cathedral. Though you speak with the tongues of men and of angels it would profit you nothing without that bond of charity which joins the church inseparably with the outside world.

Here, in this Cathedral, you have your own grim reminder of this truth, for nothing can ever un-happen the fact that once upon a time hatred and violence, murder and sudden death defiled this sanctuary. But more than that. Here in this eucharist the whole church remembers the desecration of an even holier temple, in the breaking of his body who for our sakes took upon himself the pain of being a man. Jesus Christ, crucified, risen, at God's right hand—here is the unity of all George Bell achieved, uniting the beauty of creation with the grandeur of redemption, the love of God poured out for the mending of the church, and for the healing of the nations.

Dr. Visser t'Hooft said that but for George Bell the ecumenical movement could not have survived the divisiveness of war, and for the rest of his life he was supremely committed to the recovery of Christian unity.

And in his last sermon before the World Council of Churches in Odense, Denmark he showed them the more excellent way. He said the church needed most of all, more saints.

'There is no call for cloistered living or escape to an ivory tower. Söderblom said that when God's rule has penetrated a man's heart and life so that the divine life and righteousness become the main factor, we speak of a saint. A saint is a man who reveals God's might. Saints are such as show plainly in their words and deeds and in their very being, that God lives.'

He had not the faintest idea that such words might be applied to him. But all whose lives have been enriched by knowing this very perfect gentle man, must pray that they may so follow such a good example that with them they may be partakers of the heavenly kingdom.

'How wise you were . . . in your youth:  
Your mind was like a brimming river:  
Your influence spread throughout the world  
Your fame reached distant islands.  
And you were loved for your peace.'

## BOOK REVIEWS

### GOD UNDER MY ROOF CELTIC SONGS AND BLESSINGS by Esther de Waal

SLG Press 1984, Fairacres Publication 87, Price 60p

The 'songs and blessing' towards which Esther de Waal draws our attention in this all-too-little book are those of the *Carmina Gadelica*. This is an amazing collection, written down by Alexander Carmichael from the wholly oral tradition of the people of the Outer Hebrides, among whom he lived from 1860 to 1900.

Those who know the windswept islands off the coast of Scotland will immediately sense the elemental power of God known and felt by those who used these prayers. As Esther emphasises, this power and reality is not pantheistic, but deeply personal. God is an ever-present companion. Her commentary and reflections on these lovely and deceptively simple and direct prayers and poems creates a little book which says again something which is at the heart of Christian incarnational theology:

"God uses the common, material things of life to reveal himself."  
It's a truth we always seem to be losing sight of.

CANON PETER BRETT.

### SEEKING GOD: THE WAY OF ST. BENEDICT by Esther de Waal The Archbishop of Canterbury's Lent Book 1984 Fount Paperbacks, £1.75

Every reader of the *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* will want to read this beautiful, homely and perceptive book by the wife of our Dean, 'directly inspired' as she says 'by the cathedral and the Benedictine community which it housed in the Middle Ages', and dedicated 'in gratitude to the cathedral community of Canterbury'.

In the preface to one of my own books Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, C.R., wrote: 'God's truth is always contemporary'. The truth of this remark has found fresh and challenging illustration in Esther de Waal's book on the Benedictine way. Despite the fact that St. Benedict spent his whole life in Italy, and that his Rule was written for monks, it is hard to dispute the fact that few individuals have had as profound an effect on the Western world, even if all would not necessarily agree with Dr. de Waal's evaluation of him as the 'greatest of saints'. We may well ask how the Rule of St. Benedict, who lived fifteen centuries ago and of whose life so comparatively little is known, can give a new way of looking at life to our contemporaries in their search for God.

The secret is that the Rule of St. Benedict 'is neither rule-book nor code. It does not dictate; it points a way' (p. 30)--the way to Christ himself. Because 'the Rule is simply an aid to live by the Scriptures' (p. 32), it not only repays careful study but it can help ordinary men and

women in our own age, as well as those in monastic communities—and it is note-worthy how frequently Dr. de Waal is indebted to contemporary Cistercian insights for interpreting the Benedictine spirit—to find in the Rule ‘depths and levels relevant to their needs and their understanding at any stage on their journey, provided that they are truly seeking God’ (p. 23).

After an introductory chapter on St. Benedict and his influence in his own time, in the intervening centuries and today, Dr. de Waal divides her book into nine sections which both go to the heart of twentieth century man’s malaise and distil the essence of the practical wisdom of the Benedictine way for all who seek wholeness and holiness for man with man, and man before God. The invitation (Ch. 2) ‘in an age of beguiling paperbacks offering attractive ways to God through every conceivable means’ (p. 33) is ‘to go back to the Scriptures and to put nothing before the service of Christ’ (p. 35). The invitation to stop and listen (Ch. 3. Listening) is shown to be an invitation to engage every fibre of our being, and to lead us into that attentive awareness and obedience ‘which says “Yes” with our whole person to the infinite love of God’ (p. 50). Stability (Ch. 4) is the fruit of perseverance and progress in the pilgrimage towards God. It is often stability which our age most needs and most lacks; so that even sincere Christians end up by collecting for themselves a ragbag ‘of well-intentioned but half-thought ideals based on a confused and superficial amalgam of some of the more attractive elements in each’ (p. 57).

In one of the most challenging and bracing chapters in the book (Ch. 5. Change) Dr. de Waal shows that on our response to the inevitability of change in ourselves and in society depends our progress towards the goal of our search which is Christ. On a personal level ‘it is a sign of maturity to rejoice in what I have and not to weep for what I have lost or never had’ (p. 74). In an age like ours which manifests many forms of extremism and in which balance, proportion and harmony are at a premium what the Benedictine life can show (Ch. 6 Balance) is ‘the possibility of keeping equilibrium in an age of polarity’ (p. 95). Chapters 7 and 8 on ‘Material things’ and ‘People’ go to the heart of ‘the business of living a Christian life in the world without being absorbed by it’ (p. 102). The chapter on Authority (Ch. 9) tackles one of the most difficult and pressing problems of our time and proposes the Benedictine ideal as a model for discovering ‘a balance of inter-dependence and responsibility which allows the good of both the individual and the group to develop to their fullest’ (p. 140). In the final chapter on ‘Praying’ (Ch. 10) prayer and love are seen as the two faces of the same coin, so to speak, the coin being ‘the life that is hid with Christ in God’. It is a truth of the Christian life that we should not be seeking God if we had not, in some measure, found him. It is Dr. de Waal’s enthusiastic conviction that St. Benedict is giving us ‘the chance to stand where, if we are truly seeking God, we know that we shall be found by him’ (p. 154).

A final postscript: many readers will be grateful for the ‘Thoughts and Prayers’, which follow each chapter, to aid their devotional lives; and the scholarly reader would not be so appreciative of the book did it not contain references to the sources on which the author has drawn.

E. L. KENDALL.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH  
OF CANTERBURY

by Nicholas Brooks

Published by the Leicester University Press

Price £28

For many who love our Cathedral and have studied its history over the years the Saxon era from the coming of Augustine and his monks to the time of the Norman Conquest has been a dim and shadowy period of mystery and conjecture and (with the honourable exception of Dunstan the reformer and Alphege the martyr) its archbishops have tended to be seen as unimpressive figures of whom little was known.

Now the senior lecturer in mediaeval history in the University of St. Andrews has written a book which has changed all that from henceforth, for here as a result of years of patient research in the available documents of the period . . . charters, diplomas and liturgical books among others . . . is a most readable volume amounting to more than 300 pages in which is set out a reconstruction of the City of Canterbury and its Cathedral in the pre-Conquest period, followed by a history of the church and diocese under the successors of St. Augustine, which has much to tell the reader about the personalities of the Saxon primates, their relationship with the kings of Kent, Mercia and Wessex and above all of the gradual acquisition of estates by way of endowment of both the archiepiscopal see and the Christ Church community through the generosity of the kings of Kent and other great men of the county . . . an endowment which was the foundation of the great wealth and power of both the archbishops and the cathedral community through the whole mediaeval period. Among many aspects of the religious life of Canterbury which Dr. Brooks has brought to light in this fascinating book is the nature of the Cathedral community or *familia* which for most of the Saxon period seems to have been composed of secular clergy (unlike the Benedictine community, usually known as St. Augustine's, over the city wall.) It was not until the time of St. Dunstan that monks began to form the members of the Cathedral community and this may be due to the fact that from Dunstan's time (c. 980) to the year 1038 all the archbishops were monks who had been bishops elsewhere in the province of Canterbury before being translated to the archiepiscopal see; yet the secular clergy throughout the Saxon period seem to have maintained the worship of God in the Cathedral with much dignity of chant and ceremonial following liturgically contemporary Benedictine use. There is a good deal of information here about the Christ Church scriptorium and the library of the community, and the sumptuous gospel books in use in divine service, together with a good deal about the common practice of forgery of charters through this period which seems very strange to modern minds.

This book is full of delights and though it may seem at first sight expensive it is too good a book to borrow and read once. It should be bought, read and then placed upon one's bookshelves to be dipped into and consulted again and again.

D. INGRAM HILL.

# THE GREAT ADVENTURE—PRAYERS FOR THE WHOLE OF LIFE

Compiled and arranged by Charles Harrington  
(Arthur James, Evesham, 1983, 95p)

The Revd. Charles Harrington is a well-known and well loved figure in the Cathedral, both as a chaplain and as a guide. In this little book he has given us a selection of prayers, some of his own composition, some gathered from other sources, most for private use, some for the purpose of shared prayer.

The book contains four sections. First there is a number of informal patterns of prayer suitable for use at the beginning of a meeting. There follows a group of prayers which centre on the reality of the Church. Third there comes a section of prayer for special purposes, with particular emphasis on the ministry of healing. Finally there are prayers which relate to the 'Last Things', to Eternal Life, and to the realisation of the nearness of the spiritual realm.

These are prayers which reflect the experience of a long and varied ministry. They unite concern for the inner life with concern for our needs in society at large. They seem to lead us forward and to show us the opportunities and gifts of God which are still to come. Many will feel grateful to the author for bringing them together in this form.

CANON A. M. ALLCHIN.

# **PETER DYKE BUYS ANTIQUES**

## **Especially**

Bookcases, Bureaux, Desks, Dining Tables, Refectory Tables, Davenports, Sets of Chairs, Chests, Work Tables, Writing Tables and Grandfather Clocks.

I am also interested in Bronzes, Samplers, Rugs, Paintings (particularly Marine or Arabic Subjects) and any other Decorative items up to 1920.

FAIR AND REALISTIC PRICES PAID

**PETER DYKE ANTIQUES**

**204/206 THE STREET, BOUGHTON**

HOUSES CLEARED, VALUATION AND

PROBATE WORK UNDERTAKEN

PROMPT, EFFICIENT AND DISCREET SERVICE

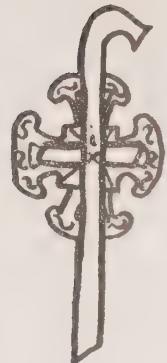
**CANTERBURY 750621**

DAYTIME AND EVENINGS

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE  
NUMBER 78 APRIL 1984

Published by The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral,  
11b The Precincts, Canterbury. Telephone 62806.

Printed by The Canterbury Printers Ltd.,  
Hall Place, Harbledown, Canterbury



THE  
FRIENDS  
OF  
CANTERBURY  
CATHEDRAL

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHRONICLE 1984

## FRIENDS' EVENTS 1984

FRIENDS' DAY - Sunday, 22nd July

11.00 a.m.	Sung Eucharist and Sermon (Preacher: The Very Revd. Michael Stancliffe)	Quire
12.45 p.m.	Luncheon (Tickets @ £3.00 per head) Marquee on the Green Court	
2.15 p.m.	Annual Meeting	Quire
3.15 p.m.	Festal Evensong	Quire
4.15 p.m.	Tea (Tickets £1.20)	Marquee
5.30 p.m.	"The Firstborn" (This is a performance by Group 81) (A ticket, for which there will be no charge, is available to members of the Friends)	Crypt

Members may wish to make a note of the following Canterbury events during the next few months:

KING'S SCHOOL WEEK 12th - 18th July

(Programme from the Secretary, King's School)

## OTHER CATHEDRAL EVENTS

May	10th	7.30 p.m.	FRIENDS Cathedral Open Evening. BRING A FRIEND
May	12th		Friends of St. Paul's Cathedral visit Canterbury
June	9th	7.15 p.m.	Canterbury Singers - Chapter House
July	7th	7.30 p.m.	Choral Society Concert - Belshazzars Feast - William Walton.
July	10th	8.00 p.m.	Organ Recital
July	28th		Canterbury Christian Council Ecumenical Fete - Green Court/Shirley Hall.
August	21st	8.00 p.m.	Organ Recital
Sept.	2nd	11.00 a.m.	Morris Dancers attend Eucharist
		12.00	and dance on the Green Court.
Sept.	11th	8.00 p.m.	Organ Recital
Sept.	18th		Friends of Gloucester Cathedral visit Canterbury.
Sept.	23rd		Canterbury Festival until 13th October
Oct.	13th	7.30 p.m.	Choral Society Concert - Belshazzars Feast - William Walton.

TICKET ORDER FORM EOB EVENTS TN 108/

<u>FRIENDS' DAY - 22nd July</u>	Price per Ticket	Number Required	Apply Before	Remittance
Ticket for Meeting and/or Services	FREE	.....	.....	.....
Luncheon Ticket	£3.00	.....	18th June	.....
Tea Ticket	£1.20	.....	18th June	.....
"The Firstborn" Ticket		Collection	18th June	.....
Inclusive ticket for Day	£4.00	.....	.....	.....

I enclose cheque/cash/P.O. for Total £ .....  
Name .....  
Address .....

Please return this form to the Friends' Office, 11B The Precincts, Canterbury, Kent.  
enclosing a STAMPED ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for tickets. Those for "The Firstborn" are  
necessarily restricted in maximum number to the number of lunch or tea tickets ordered.

# FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

## BALANCE SHEET AND ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH 1983

### INDEX

	Page
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT—GENERAL FUND.....	1
BALANCE SHEET.....	2
AUDITORS' REPORT.....	2
NOTES FORMING PART OF THE ACCOUNTS:—	
1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES.....	3
2. OFFICE OVERHEAD EXPENSES.....	3
3. CHRONICLE AND NEWSLETTER.....	3
4. GIFTS TO THE CATHEDRAL.....	3
5. OFFICE EQUIPMENT.....	4
6. CASH AT BANK AND IN HAND.....	4
7. LORD BENNET FUND .....	4
8. LIFE MEMBERS' RESERVE .....	4

REEVES & NEYLAN,

Chartered Accountants,  
Canterbury.





# INTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE

1985

Our cover picture depicts:

**THE DREAM OF KING LOUIS VII OF FRANCE**

St. Thomas appeared at night three times to King Louis, warning him with threats to make a pilgrimage to the tomb at Canterbury if he wished his son to recover from the infirmity with which he was stricken. In the sequel Louis visited the saint's tomb, in 1179, and made many presents to the church, including a gold cup and the famous jewel, the *régale* of France. The saint, holding in his left hand a pastoral staff (instead of the more usual archiepiscopal cross) stands by the bedside of the sleeping king; his right hand is raised in a warning gesture. It will be noted that the king wears his crown in bed, to mark his identity (like the sleeping Magi in the North Aisle of the Choir).

# THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

*First Friend on the Roll:*  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

*Royal Patron:*  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER

*President:*  
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, P.C., D.D.

*Patrons:*  
THE LORD RAMSEY OF CANTERBURY, D.D.  
HENRY MOORE, ESQ., O.M., C.H., F.B.A., A.R.I.B.A.  
THE LORD COGGAN OF CANTERBURY AND SISSINGHURST, D.D.

*Chairman of the Council:*  
THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY (The Very Reverend Victor A. de Waal)

*Steward:* CHARLES BARKER, M.C.      *Treasurer:* JOHN NICHOLAS, ESQ.

## *Members of the Council:*

Brig N. A. Atherton	Miss Joyce M. Melhuish
Dr. S. Bann	John Nicholas, Esq.
Canon P. Brett	Paul Pollak, Esq.
The Mayor of Canterbury	Mrs. M. C. F. Prichard
Mrs. Nancy Clifford	The Revd. Canon J. de Saumarez
Derek Crabtree, Esq.	Reg Steel, Esq.
The Revd. Canon D. Ingram Hill, D.D., F.S.A.	Mrs. M. Scott-Knight
Dr. Wendy Hughes-Jones	T. Tatton-Brown, Esq.
The Rt. Revd. H. Isherwood	Dr. Allan Wicks, F.R.C.O., D.MUS.
David Kemp, Esq.	Dr. Francis Woodman
Robin Leigh-Pemberton, Esq.	The Rt. Hon. Lord Swinfen
Sir Dawnay Lemon, C.B.E., Q.P.M.	

# THE CHRONICLE 1985

Published by the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral

---

NUMBER 79

APRIL 1985

---

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	3
STEWARDS REPORT	4
COMINGS AND GOINGS	5
DEATHS OF FRIENDS	8
MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL BY KENNETH W. PICKERING	9
HENRY OF EASTRY, PRIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY, 1285-1331 BY MARGARET SPARKS	14
HENRY YEVELEY AND THE NAVE OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. BY JOHN HARVEY	20
REGIMENTAL COLOURS IN THE WARRIORS' CHAPEL, ETC. BY TEMPEST HAY	33
11 THE PRECINCTS, THE EVOLUTION OF A HOUSE BY MARGARET SPARKS	39
LOOKING BACK IN PLEASURE BY FREDERICK COLE	42
SERMON GIVEN BY THE DEAN OF WINCHESTER	44
BOOK REVIEW DEREK INGRAM HILL	47
NOTES AND NEWS	iii cover

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our thanks to Mr. F. Cole for the photo of the memorial window to George Easton. To Mr. Ben May for the photos of the effigy of Prior Eastry and the Nave aisle which not only shows the colours of the 31st Regiment of Foot but also the organ case given by Lord Astor with his coat of arms painted on it. Thanks also to Mr. Tim Tatton-Brown for the plan of 11 The Precincts and to Mr. Edmund Rose for the photo of the Young Friends at Laon.

D.I.H.

## EDITORIAL

In Canterbury never a year passes without some anniversary or commemoration occurring which is reflected in the pages of this *Chronicle*.

This year sees the seven hundredth anniversary of the installation of Henry of Eastry as Prior of the Benedictine community of Christ Church Canterbury. He held office longer than any other Prior and the community and its cathedral prospered greatly in his reign as a scholarly article by Margaret Sparks in this number makes plain. A very different anniversary is that which marks the fiftieth year since the first production of T. S. Eliot's play *Murder in the Cathedral*, written for the Canterbury Festival of the Friends in 1935 and easily the most enduring and influential of the numerous plays written for these Festivals both before and after the Second World War. Dr. Pickering whose book on the Canterbury plays is being published this Spring contributes an article in commemoration of this important jubilee. Dr. John Harvey, one of the great authorities on the history and art of the fourteenth century, contributes a magisterial article in defence of his theory, expounded some years ago in a book that has become a classic, that Henry Yevele was the architect of our glorious nave and it is our hope that all cathedral guides and others who talk or lecture on the history and architecture of the cathedral will 'read, mark, learn and inwardly digest' what he has written.

Very often in this *Chronicle* we have thought it fitting to print in full the sermon preached on Friends Day and the address by the Dean of Winchester last year is therefore included in his number. Captain Tempest Hay has written an article on the Colours and Standards in the Warriors' Chapel of St. Michael, the centre of devotion each morning at 11 a.m. when prayers are held outside its gates in commemoration of the Fallen of the two World Wars of our time. Margaret Sparks has also contributed an interesting account of the large and rambling house, No. 11 The Precincts, which has been the headquarters of the Friends and the office of the Cathedral Guides for some years past and is in process of being adapted with a generous contribution from the Friends to serve as the administrative centre of all the Cathedral activity and business life.

Last year the 'silver treasury' in the Crypt was opened daily for two hours in the morning and again in the afternoon every weekday from Easter week to All Saints' Day, staffed by voluntary helpers, and it attracted many visitors. May I appeal to Friends reading this who live locally and would be prepared to give half a day a week to get in touch with me. They will find this a most enjoyable and interesting way of serving the Cathedral. It would also be good to be able to staff in a similar way for a couple of hours each afternoon in the summer the lovely old building over the Stour known as Greyfriars, the property of the Dean and Chapter and a great tourist attraction.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

## STEWARDS REPORT

By the time this reaches you The Friends Office will have moved downstairs in No. 11 The Precincts. No longer will you be required to scale the iron staircase. Come and see our magnificent office, part of Cathedral House.

The link with the Canterbury Cathedral Trust in America has been strengthened by the stay in Canterbury for twelve months sabbatical, of the Revd. Peter Vorkink II and his wife Gaye. Peter teaches at Phillips Exeter Academy, New Hampshire. He is now teaching at The King's School but has given generously of his time to help the Friends in Canterbury. We find we speak the same language!

Our American Friends continue to grow apace under the leadership of Sam Belk III. They recently donated a further \$6,000 towards the Great West Window and are now four fifths of the way towards their target.

In this *Chronicle* you will find Membership form. Pass it to a friend and help us to double our numbers in 1985.

The work of the Friends has benefited considerably from bequests in recent years. Why not consider the possibility of you leaving a bequest?

This year the Friends have donated six Knight pianos to the Choir House in memory of Miss Joan Kennedy.

Other donations this year include:

£20,000 to provide heating in the Chapter House.

£50,000 for the restoration of the wall paintings in St. Andrews Chapel.

The Embroidered Seats for the Quire are now returning. A magnificent sample is on display in the North Quire Aisle. Of the 122 cushions 10 still require working. If you are interested contact Mrs. Maureen de Sausmarez c/o The Friends Office. Why not donate a cushion in memory of a loved one, or yourself? They should be in the Quire by the end of November.

Friends Day is on Sunday 21st July. I hope you appreciate the new caterers.

A supplement is enclosed with coming events. I look forward to seeing you.

My thanks to all the "Friends" who help us with our local deliveries, a great saving on our postage. Also to all the helpers on the Friends Desk.

The Friends Desk is in need of more volunteers. Anyone interested in assisting for 1½ hours during the week or on Sunday afternoons after Evensong please contact the Friends Office. You will be surprised how much variety this will provide in your life.

CHARLES BARKER.

## COMINGS AND GOINGS

For the first time for many years we have to record some important changes in the lay staff of the cathedral and the deaths of several Friends of long standing. After some 39 years in the service of the Dean and Chapter we bade farewell to a most faithful Chapter Agent in the person of Mr. Percy Norris with a special party and presentation after morning service, in the Chapter House on December 23rd. For years the sight of Mr. Norris at his desk in the Chapter Office at No. 8 The Precincts, keeping a firm grasp on all chapter meetings and business has been immensely reassuring and he will be greatly missed. We have been fortunate in finding a successor in Rear-Admiral David Macey who was formally installed at Evensong on March 9th with the title of Receiver-General. A few weeks back saw the retirement of Mr. Frederick Cole who brought into existence some 14 years ago the Cathedral Glass Restoration Department, gathering a devoted staff and training them. He has written elsewhere in the Chronicle some impression of these memorable years the results of which can be seen in the glowing jewel like windows of the Trinity Chapel and the great windows of the Nave and S.W. Transept cleaned, restored, and with protective glazing, which should delight the visitor for many years to come. A charming specimen of his own work in the field of stained glass can be seen in the small diamond-shaped panel now in the north aisle of the western crypt which commemorates the life and work of a great artist in this field—George Easton whose own best memorial are the three windows in the south ambulatory of the Quire which he created from fragments of XIIIth French glass from the collection of the late William Randolph Hearst the American millionaire, which were found in St. Donat's castle in Glamorganshire after his death and purchased by the Dean and Chapter.

Mr. Cole's place in the glass works as director has been taken by Mrs. June Lennox who comes with a great reputation in the field of glass conservation from the Victoria and Albert Museum; we wish her good luck in the most important work which she is undertaking. It is with regret that we say farewell also to Mr. Colin Mattingley who undertook the work of following up the Cathedral Appeal and has been instrumental in raising large sums for the Cathedral and whose bright smile and charm of manner will be much missed at No. 11 The Precincts by all who work there. In the autumn we shall be parting with Mr. Jim Brazier and Sheila who after nineteen years in our midst as vesturer (and wife) have become almost an institution. Jim is to be ordained to the title of Christ Church, South Ashford in the Diocese of Canterbury, and our prayers and good wishes will go with them both in their new life. We are glad to welcome on to the Friends Council two stalwart churchmen to represent the University of Kent on our body. . . Mr. Derek Crabtree, Master of Keynes College and Dr. Stephen Bann of Rutherford College. With some sadness we bid farewell to four ladies who have been pillars of 'Cathedral Gifts' and whose courtesy and salesmanship have done much for this vital part of the Cathedral work. . . Mrs. Nora Offredi, Mrs. Jean Atwell, Mrs. Gwen Richards and Mrs. Mary Pulsen. We wish them all a very happy retirement. We welcome too Herr Wolfgang Gartner who will be taking over shortly the directorship of the Wall Paintings Workshops.

We have, alas, to record as always the deaths of some Friends who have given great support to the work of the Cathedral in many ways, notably Mrs. Ena Buckworth. The loyal supporter of her husband Mr. Bertie Buckworth three times Mayor of Canterbury, and now a faithful steward of the Cathedral, she brought all her energies and gifts to many fields, notably in that of Cancer Research in the City and district and as one of the leaders of the Cathedral Catering Committee. The extent of her interest and influence in many areas was wonderfully demonstrated by the great congregation at her funeral in the Quire on August 7th.

Canon Jack Markham for many years an incumbent in the diocese, notably at All Saints Westbrook and Elham, retired to the Cathedral Precincts in 1975 and gave stalwart service for years as one of the Cathedral guides. In his will he left generous legacies to the Cathedral and to the King's School.

In the midsummer of 1984 there passed to her rest Mrs. Frances Temple widow of Archbishop William Temple who had survived her husband by nearly 40 years. After a moving funeral service in Our Lady Undercroft her ashes were interred with his in the Cloister Garth. Memorial services were held in the Cathedral last year in memory of two great friends of the Cathedral and of Canterbury, Lord Harris for ever associated with County Cricket in Kent, and Lord Astor of Hever who rendered great service to the Cathedral Appeal as Seneschal and whose best memorial is the lovely organ case on the north wall of the Nave which was his gift in 1980 and appropriately bears on its facade his coat of arms.



GEORGE EASTON  
Cathedral Glazier  
1907-1971

Died  
31<sup>st</sup> October  
1983



*Memorial Window in the Western Crypt*

## DEATHS OF FRIENDS

*Recorded with reverence and honour following notification received between March 1984 and February 1985.*

- |                                       |                                |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Amulree, The Lord                     | Keynes, Sir Geoffrey           |
| Barlow, Miss M.                       | Lake, Mr. P. J.                |
| Bell, Mrs. R. A. R.                   | Lyons, Dr. F. S. L.            |
| Biggs, Miss W.                        | Macartney, Mrs. F.             |
| Biron, Miss R.                        | Mackenzie, Miss N.             |
| Brookens, Mr. and Mrs. (C.C.T.)       | Markham, The Revd. Canon J. V. |
| Brooking, Mrs. D. A.                  | Matthews, Miss E. G.           |
| Buckworth, Mrs. E.                    | Milner, Mr. S. M.              |
| Bunyan, Professor J.                  | Munro, Miss E. K.              |
| Burness, Mr. R. A.                    | Neale, Miss D.                 |
| Chambers, Colonel J. B.               | Owen, Miss N. M.               |
| Christopherson, Mrs. N.               | Oxley, Mr. C. E. S.            |
| Clarke, Mr. E.                        | Paine, Mr. G. T.               |
| Cleary, Mr. F. E.                     | Perfett, Mrs. (L)              |
| Comley, Mr. D.                        | Potter, Mr. G. W.              |
| Cother, Miss M. G.                    | Pym, Mrs. A.                   |
| Cowdry, The Rt. Revd.<br>Bishop R. W. | Reddie, Mr. J. W.              |
| Doherty, Mrs. I. G.                   | Scarborough, Mr. W. H.         |
| Dyke, Mrs. C. J.                      | Seaman, Mrs. E. M.             |
| Falconer, Miss M.                     | Slaughter, Mrs. L. L.          |
| Fox, Mrs. N. E.                       | Stimson, Miss A. T. (D) (L)    |
| Gower-Smith, Mr. F. R.                | Teed, Mr. T. W.                |
| Greenfield, Mr. P. R.                 | Temple, Mrs. F.                |
| Grimston, Lady de                     | Thomas, Mr. L. H.              |
| Grippen, Mr. H. D. (C.C.T.)           | Tower, Miss D.                 |
| Harris, The Lord                      | Trewby, Mrs. C. R.             |
| Haydock, Mr. F.                       | Underhill, Mr. C. C. (D) (L)   |
| Holden, Mrs. I. A. H.                 | Vigors, Mrs. M. S.             |
| Hopkinson, Mrs. S. D.                 | Watson, The Revd. J. D.        |
| Hubble, Miss A. M.                    | Willie, Mr. A. J.              |
| Hugesdon, Mr. W. F.                   | Williamson, Miss M. R.         |
| Jonson, Colonel P. B.                 | Wiseman, Mr. H.                |
| Jones, Gladys H. (C.C.T.)             | Woodward, Mrs. J. T.           |
| Jones, The Revd. P. S.                | Woolner, Miss E.               |
| Kendall, Mr. J. W.                    | Yeo, Mrs. C.                   |

L—Legacy.

D—Donation in memory.

C.C.T.—Canterbury Cathedral Trust in America.

# MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL: THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS

*Murder in the Cathedral* by T. S. Eliot was first performed in the Chapter House at Canterbury on 15th June, 1935. Since that time the play has received thousands of amateur and professional productions in churches, colleges, halls and theatres of all sizes throughout the English-speaking world and has been performed in French and Italian. In 1951 the play was adapted by its author as a film with Eliot himself speaking the part of the fourth tempter; the play has been recorded, televised and recently some words from the play were included by the rock group Diamond Head in their album 'Canterbury'. *Murder in the Cathedral* has also received considerable critical attention in the fifty years since its first performance: so much has been written about the play and its author that in 1975 Laurence Irving remarked 'In all that has been written about him we cannot discern the man we knew'.<sup>1</sup> The play continues to be studied at school and university; a college and a series of lectures have been established in the University of Kent at Canterbury in the playwright's honour and *Murder in the Cathedral* has achieved the dubious distinction of being a 'set text' for school examinations.

Had Eliot written no other play, his reputation as a dramatist would have been established and had the Canterbury Festival produced no further commissions after 1935 it would still be entitled to claim its part in a revolution in the English Theatre. Like the first productions of *Waiting for Godot* and *Look Back in Anger* a single theatrical event created a watershed for the modern stage.

*Murder in the Cathedral* was the first new play to be written especially for the open stage which Laurence Irving had designed for the Chapter House:

The introduction of Eliot was the beginning of the new phase . . . Bell asked Eliot down to Chichester, liked him very much, then wrote to me (L. Irving) and asked me to negotiate with Eliot to write a play for Canterbury. We had a mutual friend, Frank Morley with whom I'd done a book on the Thames a few years before, and Morley invited us both to lunch. Eliot was very diffident—awfully quiet, friendly chap . . . and then he came down to stay with us. I spent the next morning taking him all over the Cathedral and showed him the stage.

Then we went and had lunch somewhere and I remember my dismay when I said to him 'Has this given you any ideas for a play?' And he said 'Oh yes, I shall write a play about Thomas à Becket!' We thought we'd had enough of Thomas à Becket—but of course he was quite right—it was *entirely new*.<sup>2</sup>

Eliot had agreed to undertake the play provided that E. Martin Browne (who had 'dragged the Rock out of him'<sup>3</sup>) produced it. This was a condition which he also stipulated for every subsequent play he wrote. The fruitful partnership between Eliot and Browne ensured that 'the poet really learned what performance meant'<sup>4</sup> and is described in great detail not only in Browne's *The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays* (1969) but also in the posthumously published book he wrote with his wife, Henzie

Raeburn, *Two in One* (1981). It was Henzie who, half jokingly, suggested to Eliot, a devotee of Sherlock Holmes, that *Murder in the Cathedral* would be a better title for the play which was originally to have been called *Fear in the Way*. Eliot was greatly taken by the contemporary ring of the new title as it swept away the fustian associated with so many 'religious' plays. The hospitality which the Brownes had given to Eliot at their home in Sussex during late 1934 may also have helped the playwright fix the form of his Canterbury play, for they visited both a performance of Choral Speaking directed by Mona Swann, a major authority on the subject, in a local school and a production of some Mystery plays in the village church.

The production at Canterbury was to last one-and-a-half hours with no interval and was to be undertaken by the now familiar mix of professionals and amateurs. Robert Speaight, a devout Catholic, was engaged from London to play Becket and such was his fascination with the rôle that only three years later he published a biography of the Saint.<sup>5</sup> Speaight was a particularly good choice because of his deep interest in the ideas on open staging advocated by William Poel, of whom he also wrote a biography,<sup>6</sup> and because of his expertise in handling verse. He was also familiar with the liturgical elements of the play and one critic 'felt a great sincerity,'<sup>7</sup> in his presentation. Co-operation with the amateur actors was not always easy for Speaight and his subsequent accounts of the play reveal a sense of relief when he moved on to an all-professional production in London.

The amateurs were, however, contending with a technically advanced play which has since taxed far more experienced performers and their achievement was remarkable. Their appetite for the play was first whetted in a piece which E. Martin Browne wrote for the *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* in 1935:

Some members of the Cathedral Players have very big chances this year. The four Knight's parts, for instance, are in their hands. The styles of speech in these range from exalted poetry to colloquial prose, for Mr. Eliot has given the Knights the chance to justify themselves in the eyes of posterity—as represented by the Canterbury audiences—for their deed.<sup>8</sup>

This was reinforced by Browne's reading of the play to all interested amateurs who were willing to rehearse during April, May and early June. Thirty-four years later Browne still recalled the gasp which went round the room when he read the transition from the chorus to the Knights' address to the audience.<sup>9</sup> Such variations in style were only one of the problems facing both cast and producers; another was Eliot's introduction of a chorus of women which demanded an expertly trained and orchestrated group of performers. These were to be drawn from students at Elsie Fogerty's Central School of Speech Training and Dramatic Art and would only arrive in Canterbury for the dress rehearsal.

Elsie Fogerty had established herself as the leading authority on choral speaking. Basing her voice-production work on scientific principles she had pioneered a style of apparently effortless, resonant speech which enabled her students to be easily recognised in the very influential positions in the Theatre and Education which they came to occupy both

before and after the Second World War. The distinctive sound produced by Central School students was to be enhanced by the acoustic qualities of the Chapter House but the very small stage available and the lack of wing space meant that the chorus of eleven women would have to remain on stage and relatively static throughout the performance.

The permanent setting designed by Irving was to be complemented by costume designs from Stella Mary Pearce, a friend of Eliot's who had also designed for *The Rock*. These were particularly bold and striking designs: those for the tempters incorporating aspects of their characters which gave them a contemporary feel and the chorus costumes providing a subtle blend of individuality and unity.

From the outset the conditions of rehearsal and performance placed many constraints on playwright and producer but the use of the Chapter House rather than the Cathedral Nave gave Eliot freedom from ecclesiastical censorship and the working relationship he had established with Browne enabled the play to be partially shaped in rehearsal. The text of the play itself underwent many revisions from the first drafts of sections sent to the producer to the version which was fixed at the time of Eliot's death. 'When we first read it,' wrote Canon J. M. C. Crum, 'it was at once very clear that you, Gentlemen and Ladies (the cast), had had great courage'.<sup>10</sup> Such preliminary reading was made possible by the printing of 750 copies of an Acting Edition permitted by Eliot's own publishing house of Faber and Faber on payment of 30 guineas and on condition that any unsold copies be destroyed. In the event all copies were sold and a few, including the electrician's 'prompt copy' on which this article relies, survive today.

Almost simultaneously with the printing of the Acting Edition Eliot was guiding a longer version of the play through the press at Faber and Faber. This version, some three hundred lines longer, was later to incorporate changes made during rehearsal and performance at Canterbury. There are substantial differences between the edition published in 1968 and the Acting Edition. To some extent these simply reflect the physical conditions of the first performance compared with subsequent productions in the commercial theatre. All the entrances and exists marked in the Acting Edition refer to the fact that the only approach to the stage was from a central aisle.

Reading the Acting Edition one certainly does have the impression that 'Mr. Eliot has devised the play with a knowledge of the conditions of production in the Chapter House';<sup>11</sup> nevertheless, a further one hundred lines are shown as cut by the producer in the course of the rehearsal and it is interesting to note that the first performance of this great play omitted what have become some of its most famous lines.

The production at Canterbury opened with the striking of a bell and the entry of the Chorus. It is increasingly difficult for modern readers to appreciate the impact of those first moments unless they have experience of the intensity and orchestration of that kind of choral speaking which has now, sadly, become unfashionable. Choral speaking is not to be confused with chanting or the 'ecclesiastical voice'—its modulations and cadences produced and can still produce a great emotional response from audiences:

. . . It was team work: whether you spoke together or took up in turn your own characteristic phrases in your musical voices. You helped us. Your music haunts us. We float on your supporting sentences, from mood to mood, always *imagining*—which is perhaps not what we do most easily in this time and country<sup>12</sup>

wrote J. M. C. Crum and his enthusiastic response to the rôle and style of the Chorus was reinforced by the reporter from the *Kentish Gazette*

. . . their perfectly delivered prophecies and lamentations given on a somewhat mournful note, gradually build up an atmosphere of horror which cannot but thrill all who are present. The choral verse is spoken with singular beauty.<sup>13</sup>

From the outset the Chorus introduces the play's recurrent theme: birth, death and regeneration. This is represented first by the seasons of the natural year then by the birth and death of hope in waiting and the passage of time, then in the paradox of the celebration of Mass at Christmas; then the cycle of the Church's year and finally in the glorious emergence of a saint in martyrdom. The theme is reinforced in the recurrent image of the turning wheel. Each group of characters contributes to the theme but whereas the Priests, the Tempters and Knights argue from expediency and the temporal the Chorus and the protagonist see the significance of events as out of time.

Much of the initial reaction to Eliot's play has been lost with the dwindling number of people who recall the performance in 1935; but all the evidence suggests that many were aware that *Murder in the Cathedral* had qualities that would ensure its survival. 'My own opinion', wrote the reporter for the *Kentish Gazette*, 'is that it is the best play on the subject which has yet been presented at the Festivals and I am not alone in thinking that—The play is more thrilling than any biography of Becket or any historical dramatisation'.<sup>14</sup> This, however, was a parochial view, although the use of the word 'thrilling' is interesting in the light of the somewhat sombre tones in which Eliot's work is often described. It was Samuel Jeake, Jr. in the London Letter of the *New Yorker* who placed the importance of the play in a wider perspective:

. . . a poetic play was staged in the Chapter House which may well mark a turning point in English drama . . . One hadn't listened five minutes before one felt that one was witnessing a play which had the quality of greatness.<sup>15</sup>

This was a response to a performance by an assorted cast of amateurs and professionals brought together at the last moment in primitive theatrical conditions!

Evaluation of the play today is complicated by much that has been written, not least by Eliot himself. Most studies of Eliot as a dramatist approach the plays through the playwright's published and well publicised views on Poetic Drama and Theology, seeing *Murder in the Cathedral* as an experiment which was abandoned in an attempt to write a more obviously 'commercial' play. This is done excellently by David Jones in *The Plays of T. S. Eliot* (1960) and perhaps most impressively of all by Carol H. Smith in her *T. S. Eliot's Dramatic Theory and Practice* (1963). Both those writers provide insights into Eliot's technique in discovering an acceptable form of dramatic dialogue in *Murder*

*in the Cathedral*, quoting frequently from the playwright's highly developed views, particularly those expressed in a broadcast made in 1936. Eliot's announcement of his conversion to Anglo-Catholicism in 1928 together with his *Dialogue on Dramatic Poetry* (1928) have both led critics to explain *Murder in the Cathedral* in terms of ritual, the sacrifice of the Mass and the parallel Temptation, Passion and Resurrection of Christ and Eliot's own judgement of his play as a 'one off' has certainly coloured critical opinion.

In a recent television documentary the Italian playwright Dario Fo said that he thought the ancient Greek dramatists never intended their plays to survive—they were intended for a particular time, a particular audience and a specific Festival. The same might easily be said of the Canterbury plays. They seem to have served their original purpose admirably and some would think that they should now be left undisturbed. Eliot's attitude was ambivalent. Even as he was preparing a text for Canterbury he was publishing a longer version with an eye to London presentation. Yet subsequently, when he felt the need to take a new direction in playwriting, he reverted to a more defensive position resembling Dario Fo's. But some of the great Greek plays and *Murder in the Cathedral* have not only survived but continue to reward exploration in performance; it is therefore clear that Eliot's play was more than a breaking of new ground, more than an exciting experiment, it is a theatre work of permanent validity.

KENNETH W. PICKERING.

#### REFERENCES

1. In a tape recorded interview with the present writer, 1975.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Robert Speaight, *Thomas Becket*, Longmans Green & Co., London, 1938.
6. Robert Speaight, *William Poel & the Elizabethan Revival*, Cambridge, Mass, 1954.
7. J. M. C. Crum, 'Mr. T. S. Eliot's Play', *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*, No. 21, 1935.
8. E. Martin Browne, 'The Festival Play', *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*, No. 20, 1935.
9. E. Martin Browne, *The Making of T. S. Eliot's Play*, Cambridge, 1969, 59.
10. Crum, *loc. cit.*
11. Browne, *loc. cit.*
12. Crum, *loc. cit.*
13. 'Impressive New Play', *Kentish Gazette*, June 22nd, 1935.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Samuel Jeake, Jr., 'London Letter', *New Yorker*, July 3rd, 1935.

The full story of *Murder in the Cathedral* and of how all the Canterbury Plays came to be written is told in Dr. Pickering's new book *Drama in the Cathedral* published by Churchman Publishing Co. with assistance from The Friends. A special one-day school is being arranged by the University of Kent School of Continuing Education on 29th July, 1985, to mark the publication of the book and the fiftieth anniversary of Eliot's play.

## HENRY OF EASTRY, PRIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY, 1285-1331

For many years it has been the pleasant custom of the Friends to mark the anniversaries of past Cathedral worthies by short articles which are a reminder to the modern community of those who have gone before them in this place. In a rather similar way, at the Cathedral priory, the anniversaries of the dates of death of former priors and monks were marked in the calendars along with the days of those who were saints like Dunstan and Alphege. This year the commemoration is of Henry of Eastry, and we remember not his death in 1331 but his election as prior on April 10th, 1285. He is specially worthy of remembrance because he built the stone screen round the quire, with its elegantly carved frieze of leaves, which forms the background to most services and protects the congregation from swirling cathedral draughts, as it once protected the monks in their stalls.

Henry of Eastry was prior for 46 years; an able administrator who concerned himself with all aspects of the life of the priory. As a result he has been remembered over the centuries by various people for a variety of reasons. Archbishop Parker was interested in his control of archiepiscopal jurisdiction during vacancies in the see of Canterbury; William Somner was concerned with his administrative and chancery work; in the 19th century Robert Willis saw him as a great builder and J. B. Sheppard, who published many of his letters, stressed his relations with the archbishops and his interventions in external affairs. In more recent time he has been celebrated for his skill in the economic affairs of the priory. Anthony Smith made a special study of the registers and account rolls and similar material in the archives and published *Canterbury Cathedral Priory, a Study in Monastic Administration* in 1943, a year before his death at the age of 29. Although the work was for a Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, Anthony Smith spent much time in East Kent and identified himself with Canterbury. He was on the Council of the Friends and wrote several articles for *Reports* and *Chronicles*. Clearly Henry of Eastry fascinated him, appearing as the genius behind the complicated arrangements of mediaeval 'high farming' which he traced in the archives. Prior Henry's fame in this direction was taken further by Anthony Smith's friend, David Knowles, who devoted a chapter to him in *The Religious Orders in England*, volume I, and produced an unforgettable picture of Prior Henry travelling his estates in the cornland and downs and marshes of East Kent. As a result a reaction set in. Modern scholars delving further into the intricate details of the archives have concluded that Prior Henry's economic fame was exaggerated, and that he no more than continued the trends of the time. He only appeared important because he left so many records behind him. Anthony Smith's book was found to have deficiencies, but for a man at the age of 28 it was a worthwhile study and might well have been amended had he lived.

What can be said then about Prior Henry whose fame is so varied? He came from Eastry, just south of Sandwich in East Kent, where the manor had belonged to the priory since Saxon times. A succession of young men from there became monks. They were required before admission to have a knowledge of grammar and reasonable skill in singing and

reading, which they perhaps acquired from the parish priest. They needed to read Latin, and probably spoke French and English. Once admitted they were given in the priory what might be thought of as a secondary education, and some went on to university. While in the claustral school Henry was distinguished for his interest in Holy Scripture. There is no evidence that he went to university, but he was obviously able, with a clear mind and practical sense. He would have done well in business. While the main duty of the monastery was the praise of God in the quire services (called by St. Benedict 'the Work of God'), since the monks formed a community, there had to be officers, called obedientiaries, to look after various departments, such as catering, hospitality, the infirmary, and estate management. Intelligent monks of practical ability learned to deal with business affairs (or were speedily relieved of their offices if they failed). Henry no doubt learned in this way, although the offices he held are not recorded. When Prior Thomas Ringmere resigned in March 1285 to join the Cistercian Community at Beaulieu in Hampshire, the priory was in debt and its domestic affairs were in disorder, partly because of the monks' quarrels with Ringmere, whose position had become intolerable. A different prior was needed and a fresh approach to their problems, so the comparatively young Henry of Eastry was elected in the hope that he would unite the community and rescue them from debt, a not uncommon monastic gambit in the election of a superior at a difficult time.

The problem of such an election is that the young candidate will rule for many years. Henry of Eastry was prior for 46 years. Because he was of a tidy mind, and because good record-keeping was essential to good order in the priory and efficiency on the estates, he left behind him many books and papers and letters which allow historians to study the affairs of the priory in his time with a fair quantity of evidence. There are large formal books, registers in which copies of letters and agreements were written up; cartularies containing copies of the charters, many of them Anglo-Saxon, by which the priory held its estates; and handbooks with surveys and rentals of manors for the use of monk wardens on their administrative rounds of the estates. There is a large collection of letters, both those received by Prior Henry, and copies of those he sent out; and furthermore there are account roles and loose sheets of parchment that were rough copies intended to be written up—in fact all the less presentable forms of archive material.

In addition to all this, there is a volume now at the British Library in London which is usually called Prior Henry of Eastry's Memorandum Book. It contains a series of inventories, lists of buildings, notes of acquisitions of land and records of financial achievements, as well as miscellaneous copies of documents for handy reference in the prior's study. It is a very large book, and the lists are written in a large clear hand with wide margins. By looking at the various lists we can obtain a good general view of Prior Henry's work and what he thought important. The building list comes first. As his obituary notice records 'he built many handsome new buildings both within the monastery and outside it and repaired many ruined ones'. Today the most obvious of his works within the monastery are the quire screen with three gates and the rebuilding of

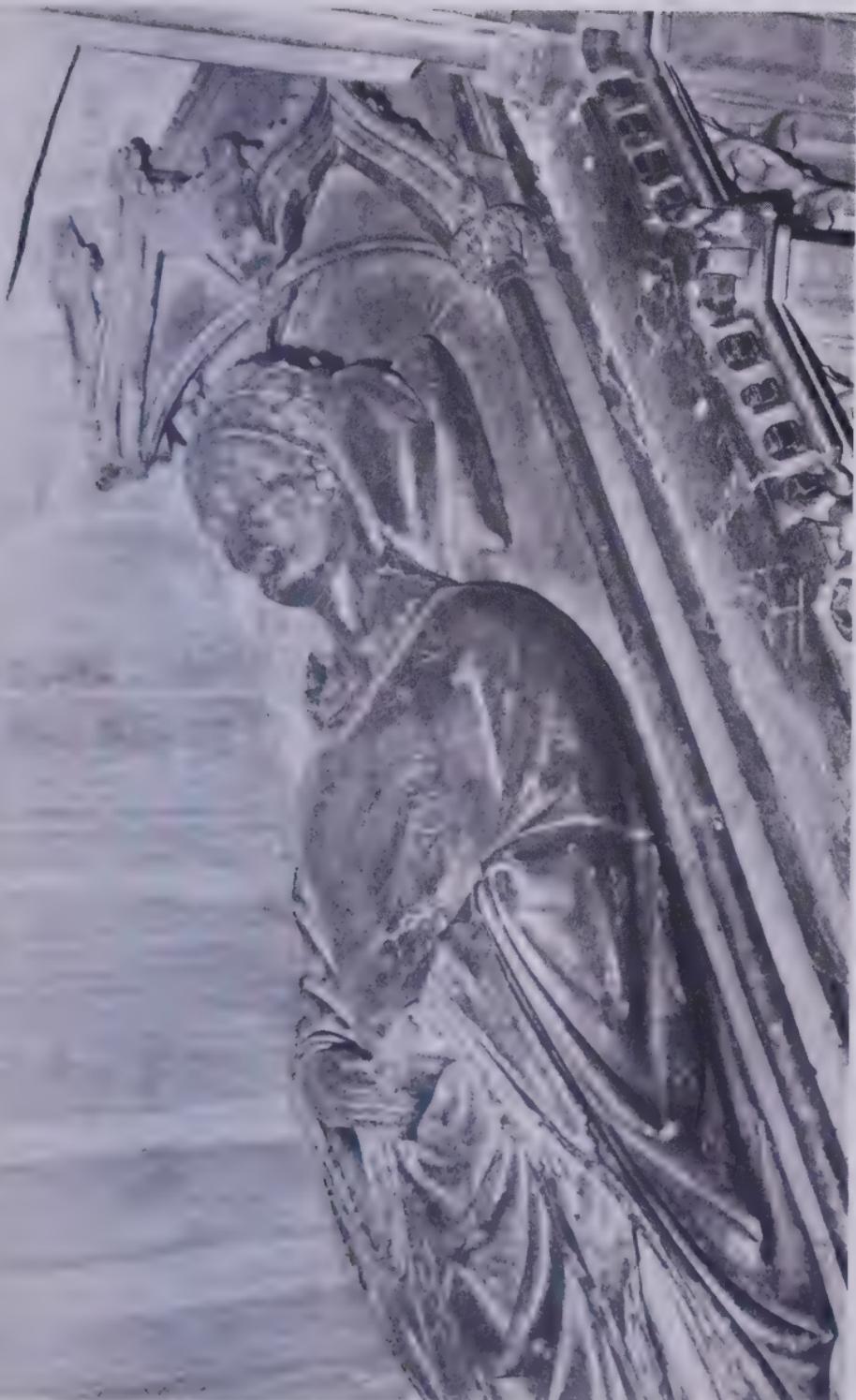
Lanfranc's Chapter House with its new arcading and prior's throne, both dated 1305 and decorated in the latest style as at St. Stephen's Chapel in the Palace of Westminster. Naturally he rebuilt the prior's hall and chamber, but these have been destroyed, and likewise the adjoining Cheker room, on the site of which the Wolfson Library was built in 1966. The Cheker or exchequer was the monastic counting-house and general financial office, obviously of great importance to Prior Henry. Out in the Green Court a new barn was built for hay and a new brewhouse, and beyond, outside the gate, a new Almonry hall and chapel which for almost three centuries after 1573 served as a schoolroom and headmaster's house for the King's School.

The estates of the priory were widespread; many manors in East Kent; some in Romney Marsh; some towards Maidstone; Cliffe and Barksore in the marshes by the Thames; and outliers such as Meopham and Orpington nearer London. Across the Thames were manors in Essex and Suffolk, there were shops and houses in London, and a few manors in Surrey. But this does not complete the list for some land was as far away as Devon and even Ireland. On each manor was a group of buildings, a hall used for the manor court and for lodging (court lodge) and farm buildings, barns, stables, cartsheds, mills, pigstyes, henhouses, surrounded by gardens and fences and ditches. The building list gives details of what was done in Prior Henry's time, recording under manor headings the year of building and the cost: in the year of his election a new cowshed was made at Eastry, costing £4.14.3d. Some of the buildings still exist (the halls at Chartham and Great Chart for example) and even where nothing remains the list is valuable for local historians as an indication of what was on the site.

Next in the Memorandum Book is a note of land acquired in Prior Henry's time, arable land, meadows, wood, mills, and also rents from houses and shops in Canterbury, Southwark and Walworth. A list of debts follows, a statement of what the priory owed at the time of Prior Henry's election, a sum of nearly £5,000, of which about half was owed to the King in taxes but some to money-lending merchants of Florence and Pisa. After the list of debts comes a balance sheet, drawn up in 1321 after 36 years of rule at the priory, which shows that the old debts had been paid, and a further large sum paid to the King. There are figures for papal taxes, and over £4,000 paid for law suits in Rome, in England and in Ireland, most of which were thought necessary for clarifying rights to property. The cost of buildings in the monastery and on the estates came to nearly £6,000, and items for land improvement and for innng land and defending it from the sea are also included in the statement. In all over £23,000 had been spent in 36 years on external or extraordinary expenses. Household expenses are not included.

It would of course be impertinent for one who is not an economic historian to comment on this, but it seems an achievement of which many modern administrators might be proud. And it seems obvious from the documents which survive that it was achieved by that careful attention to detail which may seem exasperating to those who live under it, but is often effective. The prior was assisted by a group of obedientaries and senior monks who formed what might have been called a Cheker Committee and passed resolutions about necessary reductions

*The effigy of Prior Eastry, South Quire Ambulatory*



in household expenditure, especially the expenditure of the cellarer, whose costs in feeding a large community (including servants and guests) could easily get out of hand. Other resolutions concerned estate management, supplies of grain from the manors, the control of woodland, the care of stock, the repair of buildings. Prior Henry was particular about the appointment of officers or obedientiaries, who must be prudent and not extravagant, and of sound judgement.

The next list in the Memorandum Book is of vestments and church goods kept in the vestry—either in St. Andrew's Chapel or the Treasury—in 1321. Within this inventory is a special section for new vestments given to the church in Prior Henry's time, and those made for the church then. Both Archbishops Pecham and Winchelsey left sets of vestments, and Philip IV, King of France, gave two sets, one decorated with golden *fleurs-de-lis*. Prior Henry had a liking for vestments decorated with the arms of England, or the arms of England and France. The vestments were made of patterned silk with embroidery and much use of gold thread for picking out designs of trees and birds and flowers and small animals. In Prior Henry's time a new *tabula* for the high altar was made, a painted screen to stand behind it, which presumably remained until the changes introduced by Archbishop Courtney and Prior Chillenden about a hundred years later. Recorded elsewhere in the Memorandum Book is Prior Henry's interest in bells. 15 bells were hung in various towers during his priorate, and his name is remembered today in the bell called Harry, which has given it name to the central tower, formerly known as the Angel Steeple.

The care of bells and altar goods and vestments was part of the duty of the sacrist, one of the obedientiary monks who with the precentor was responsible for the correct ordering of services. Since Prior Henry usually appears in the company of the treasurers, monk wardens and cellarer as a financial expert concerned with stock and corn and reducing household expenditure and as a promoter of complicated law suits, it is good to remember that, as might be expected, his careful attention was also devoted to the honour of God in the quire.

The last inventory which Prior Henry caused to be written in his Memorandum Book is a copy of the library catalogue, thus showing that he regarded books as part of the treasure of the house, no less than vestments and plate. The library was under the control of the precentor, since he was responsible for looking after the service books and other books were thought of as an extension of his empire. The library catalogue is a fascinating document. After the contents of the main library, an acquisition list is set out of nearly 300 items given by individuals, beginning with Thomas Becket and ending with Archbishop Winchelsey. According to Prior Henry's obituary notice, he acquired valuable books of great price in various disciplines (theology, law etc.) which he gave to the library. These may be the ones catalogued with the goods in the prior's hall and chambers at the time of his death in 1331, though they appear rather to be a working library for the prior's study.

The Memorandum Book shows Prior Henry in his domestic concerns, but of course as the head of an important monastery he had many contacts with the world outside. Rather unwillingly he attended parlia-

ment and he had of necessity to entertain royal and ecclesiastical and civil 'important people' on their journeys to and from the continent. The silver and tapestries and cushions to be found in the prior's hall and chamber were intended for such entertainment. His letter collection shows his habit of writing no-nonsense and slightly peppery letters to varied correspondents including his archbishops; but, at the other end of the scale, he was some times hopefully addressed by penniless students from Paris, Bologna and Orleans, so perhaps he could be kind to the young in a personal, off the record, manner.

Although Prior Henry was often ailing, he lived for another ten years after the inventories of the Memorandum Book were drawn up, and died on April 8th, 1331 during mass, just after the elevation of the Host, as his obituary states. He was said to be 92, a very great age, especially in mediaeval England. He was buried in the south quire aisle, 'between the statues of St. Osyth and St. Apollonia'. Work on the tomb was done immediately, since the treasurers' accounts for 1330-1 record that £21.3.4d was spent, and again in 1331-2 a mason was paid 12 pence for work at Prior Henry's tomb (finishing perhaps). His monument is set in a bay between two vaulting shafts, against which the niches for the two statues (now lost) are set at an angle, enclosing the tomb itself which is under the window. Once there was a canopy over the tomb probably somewhat like that of Archbishop Pecham in the North West Transept. The small details of the monument's decoration are reminiscent of those of the quire screen and similar 'court' work elsewhere. The effigy has a canopy over its head and its feet on a plinth, but lacks the angels at the head and dragon or dog which might be expected at the feet (Pecham has two dragons). Curiously the effigy seems too large for the space, suggesting some last minute change of plan or wrong calculations. But it is a fine effigy, apparently intended to show an old man, wearing mass vestments and the mitre and gloves which were a privilege given to the priors of Christ Church in 1221. The effigy was painted—traces of paint still remain in the folds of the vestments—and the cushions and canopy were also coloured. The canopy has tiny bosses of gold leaves.

This is the only prior's monument which remains at Canterbury. Two priors were buried in St. Michael's Chapel, and their tombs were perhaps removed to make way for the Thornhurst family in the 17th century. The later priors had brasses on floor slabs; many of the slabs remain, but the brasses are all lost. Whilst it might be wished that we had all these treasures, it seems suitable that Prior Henry, who laboured with such zeal for his house, should have his memorial. Quite apart from his own importance, historians must be immensely grateful for his Memorandum Book which provides so much evidence of various aspects of life in a cathedral priory roundabout 1300. For many reasons, he should be thought of by the Cathedral community of today as 'Prior Henry of good memory.'

MARGARET SPARKS.

# HENRY YEVELEY AND THE NAVE OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

The central problem concerning every work of art is the individuality of its author; and a great work can only be created by a great artist.<sup>1</sup> Works significant as pace-makers, setting the trend of a fashion or a style, appear in conditions marked by the emergence of important masters.<sup>2</sup> These general propositions hold good even where detailed documentary records do not exist. The history of art-criticism is filled with examples of outstanding hypothetical masters who have to be imagined in order to account for an output of works linked together by a common style.

The nave of Canterbury Cathedral is an outstanding work of architecture, and one of the greatest achievements in English art, both in composition and in detail. Within its own period, only the nave of Winchester is of the same scale, and there are no other comparable works at greater churches except the nave of Westminster Abbey. These three great naves, and the refashioned royal hall in Westminster Palace, comprise the whole output of this highest class of building at the time. The designers of buildings such as these must be sought at the top of their profession, and it would not be necessary to reaffirm this, had not the authorship of Canterbury's nave been recently assigned to a subordinate.<sup>3</sup> The present study is an attempt to marshal both the general and the particular evidence for ascribing the design to Henry Yeveley, and to give a full account of the reasons for making this ascription in the first place.

## *The Background*

With the general question of the architectural profession in the Middle Ages I have dealt at length elsewhere;<sup>4</sup> here it only has to be emphasized that the designers of all great English buildings of the Gothic age were men trained in stonemasonry and/or carpentry, but might be—and often were—both literate and of high social standing. So far as England is concerned very few Gothic designers are *explicitly* named in surviving documents, and it is this fact which for long made it possible to describe the architecture of that time as anonymous. Even if no names can be connected with a given work, this constitutes a merely accidental anonymity, signifying only the loss of documents. Historical and architectural research in the past 150 years have, however, demonstrated that many names of architects are on record; and that many separate builds—at cathedrals, churches, castles or mansions—can not only be closely dated but also ascribed to named designers. Whereas very few cathedral architects of the Middle Ages were known when John Britton produced his series of *Cathedral Antiquities* in 1814–35, a considerable number of mediaeval biographies appeared in the *Dictionary of Architecture* issued in parts from 1849 to 1892. In the meantime parallel researches in continental Europe had produced extensive evidence for the authorship of major buildings in France, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain. It remained for the great architect and historian of art, William Richard Lethaby (1857–1931), to pioneer

the study in this country of details and moulding profiles as stylistic evidence for authorship.<sup>5</sup> Before Lethaby's death a widening interest in the subject was evidenced in many quarters.<sup>6</sup>

### *The Ascription to Henry Yeveley*

So far there was no biographical work which brought together what was known of named English masters;<sup>7</sup> nor had measured profiles of mouldings been used to demonstrate stylistic identity beyond the hints given by Lethaby. These were the two main gaps in our knowledge that, from 1931 onwards, I set myself to fill. The first was primarily a matter of extensive compilation from the large number of sources already in print; the second started as a joint project with my father, William Harvey, to explore the career of Hugh Herland, King's Chief Carpenter and the known designer of the new roof of Westminster Hall of 1394-1400. After a delay of two years (1933-35) imposed by work abroad, we published the results of this research in the summer of 1936.<sup>8</sup> The collection of published material on named architects, from then onwards, was supplemented by research in archives to fill gaps, starting with the cathedrals and greater churches. For each major building, comprising many piecemeal builds, the succession of designers was sought.

The metropolitan cathedrals of Canterbury and York took pride of place, but whereas a fairly complete series of York masters was recorded from the early fourteenth century, the Canterbury sequence was defective. The detailed account by Gervase named the two successive architects for the rebuilding of the eastern arm from 1174, but after that only Thomas Mapilton and John Wastell could be connected with the south-west and central towers. Nothing was known or surmised as to the designer of the nave, though its covering dates had been established by Robert Willis, as begun by 1378 and finished before 1411.<sup>9</sup>

By 1936 reading of original accounts for the royal works and of entries in the printed calendars of official enrolments, had shown that a much wider question was involved: that of the extent to which the King's master craftsmen might be responsible for the design of buildings outside the terms of their official employment. Late in 1936 I was sent a copy of the important paper on 'The Building of Eton College' by Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones; and early in 1937 a copy of their book *An Introduction to Freemasonry*.<sup>10</sup> The latter contains fully referenced careers of 20 mediaeval masons including Henry Yeveley and his contemporary William Wynford. Comparison of these two lives with that of their colleague Hugh Herland, and with the abundant evidence brought out by Lethaby in regard to the masters in charge at Westminster Abbey, was most significant. Such architects of the highest rank clearly could and did work, not only for the Crown, but for eminent private clients. In the case of Wynford, Wykeham's colleges at Oxford and Winchester, as well as the nave of Winchester Cathedral could be positively ascribed; Wynford, Yeveley and Herland were all documented in association with Wykeham. Before 1387 Yeveley was holding office as Master Mason to Westminster Abbey; Wynford from 1365 had a like post at Wells Cathedral and ten years later at Abingdon

Abbey. Yeveley and Wynford together were concerned with royal works on the defences of Winchester and Southampton; Yeveley alone was responsible for 'advice' at Canterbury. Herland was associated with the two masons at Winchester and with Yeveley in supervising work on the keep of Canterbury Castle in 1390. A clear pattern began to emerge from the jigsaw of separate facts.

Among first-class architectural works of the late fourteenth century only the nave of Canterbury Cathedral lacked a known designer. The remainder were all demonstrably assigned to the members of a triumvirate of royal master craftsmen: Henry Yeveley, William Wynford, and the carpenter Hugh Herland. It was strictly logical to adopt as a tentative hypothesis the supposition that Yeveley—already known to have worked in Kent and specifically at Canterbury—was the unknown architect. This required confirmation from two directions: the evidence of style, and a documented relationship between Yeveley and the Canterbury church authorities. A general comparison of details such as window-tracery and the main characteristics of composition was enough to provide *prima-facie* evidence of a close dependence upon the Court Style of Westminster, and showed on the other hand no resemblance to the earlier Kentish fashions which had ruled at Canterbury for nearly a century. The documents still remained elusive.

It was then that the Eton College study by Knoop and Jones produced what was to prove the crucial clue. In tracing the careers of Eton masons of the mid-fifteenth century they quoted several of the same names working in the lodge at Canterbury Cathedral between 1429 and 1454 from a register of the Prior of Christ Church.<sup>11</sup> Though these dates were substantially later than 1400, the year of Yeveley's death, the first folio quoted was numbered 133, suggesting the existence of earlier lists not relevant to the Eton study. Being unable to visit Oxford, I wrote to a correspondent there on 12 July 1938 asking if this manuscript contained material 'for the building history of Canterbury Cathedral and the designers of various parts', notably 'the nave, c. 1379-1400' with a view to obtaining 'some hint as to its designer'.

This query could not at the time be followed up, and at this point coincidence took a hand. On 21 July I received, as outcome of a correspondence in *The Daily Telegraph*, a letter from a complete stranger, Arthur Oswald. In the course of substantial correspondence and several conversations in ensuing months, it emerged that we had independently been pursuing parallel lines of research in regard to the history of several buildings, one of which was the nave of Canterbury. In a letter of 6 October Oswald remarked that he had been working through the Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls for references to the masons of the nave—incidentally duplicating my own search a year earlier—but finding no clue to the designer. At the same time I was compiling a list of documented instances of design by outside experts or by architects who worked on several buildings at a distance from one another. A copy of this draft list, dated 1 December 1938, enumerated Yeveley's known official works and added: 'Called in to advise (?) design): Cowling Castle, Kent; Canterbury city and close walls; probably Canterbury Cathedral nave'. At about the same time I mentioned to Arthur Oswald the strong probability that Yeveley 'was

architectural adviser to the see of Canterbury'. Prompted, as I had been, by the references to the Prior's register in the Bodleian Library, Oswald visited Oxford on 10 December 1938 and two days later wrote to me that he thought he could 'produce the rabbit out of the hat', having discovered in Ms. Tanner 165 the record of liveries given by Prior Chilenden at Christmas 1398 to his esquires including Henry Yvele (Yeveley), Stephen Loot (Lote), Thomas Hoo, John Wulward and Simon Carpenter, the first three known masons, the other carpenters.

Oswald's subsequent publication dealt, not only with the documentary background, but with the close stylistic comparison between the naves of Canterbury and Westminster and with the points of resemblance to Wynford's design of the Winchester nave.<sup>12</sup> He concluded 'that the nave of Canterbury belongs to the London style ... the style of the royal masons'. With this view I fully concurred, and on the clear evidence of comparative detail, no other affiliation of the nave is possible. It has to be emphasized that, in spite of the coincidence involved, we had both reached the same conclusion independently by following the same course.

### *The Nave of Canterbury Cathedral*

Before the appearance of Arthur Oswald's article, the Second World War had broken out, and several years were to elapse before it became possible to continue active research. My own share in the resumed work centred around the completion of the biographical dictionary *English Mediaeval Architects*, eventually published in 1954.<sup>13</sup> Ten years before that had appeared a short book summarizing what was known of Yeveley's career and attempting to list his certain and probable works, largely on stylistic criteria. In this book the comparative evidence of many details and of mouldings from Yeveley's known output was brought together and discussed at some length in relation to the Canterbury design.<sup>14</sup> Owing to the war, little research could be done in primary sources, and further investigation had to wait for several years. Shortly before the publication of *Henry Yevele had appeared my article on 'Henry Yevele, Architect, and his works in Kent'.<sup>15</sup> This included some additional stylistic comparisons linking the Black Prince's tomb with the west porch of the Cathedral and also with that of Westminster Abbey, as well as other points of resemblance between Yeveley's work at Westminster Abbey and Hall and the Black Prince's Chantry and the nave at Canterbury.*

In a collaborative paper with W. P. Blore, then the Cathedral Librarian, and Mrs. Dorothy Gardiner, I published a further note dealing with the Canterbury craftsmen, including those who worked on the cathedral and on the city walls between 1378 and 1429.<sup>16</sup> In 1946 there also appeared a revised edition of my biography of Yeveley, with additional documentation.<sup>17</sup> The following year saw the publication of a study of his details and moulding profiles, illustrated with scale drawings.<sup>18</sup> These showed in clear graphic form the precise parallels in individual style involved and, by the inclusion of comparable details by Wynford and others of the King's Masters, demonstrated Yeveley's

artistic personality. Additional documentary material was also printed for the first time.

Before completion of *English Mediaeval Architects* there had appeared my reconsideration of Yeveley's career as a whole, again with substantial publication of fresh documentary material.<sup>19</sup> It was by this time evident that Yeveley's pre-eminence among the English architects of his time was no mere fantasy but was reflected in his social and financial standing and in the sheer mass of documentation for his career. This included abundant references to his status as a designer. Far from there being any cause to regard his influence as exaggerated, fresh evidence repeatedly came to light to show his predominant importance in the architectural field of the first mature Perpendicular. In the South-East, and particularly after the death of John Box in 1375, there is no positive evidence whatsoever for the employment of any other architect on first-class works, except for the appearance in some cases of his known assistants or junior colleagues Walter Walton, Stephen Lote and John Clifford.

Comparatively little has had to be added to Yeveley's life in the revised edition of *English Mediaeval Architects* after an interval of thirty years.<sup>20</sup> Only two additions concern Canterbury: one is the stylistic indication that he was the designer of Holy Cross parish church, built in 1378-80 beside the West Gate. The other is the interesting suggestion made by Arthur Oswald that the Henry 'Wyffell' or 'Wyvel' who paid a fine among the *intrantes* of the city of Canterbury from 1395-96 until 1399-1400, for a house in Burgate Ward, was identical with Yeveley. A detailed re-assessment of the architectural work of Yeveley and his contemporaries, with extensive illustration and publication of moulding profiles and other details, has taken its place in the history of style in his time.<sup>21</sup>

### *The Building of the Nave*

It may be as well to recapitulate briefly what is known of the work of the nave in regard to date, the cost of building, and the craftsmen employed. As has long been known, the intention to rebuild the nave goes back to the last year of Prior Hathbrand's life, 1369-70, when a subscription list for the purpose survives, showing that 34 contributors gave a total of £44 7s. 11d.<sup>22</sup> It does not appear that anything was then done, and there was no move to demolish the old Norman work until 1377, when Simon Thebaud de Sudbury was Archbishop (from 5 June 1375) and John Finch had become Prior. In the six years ending in 1383 a total of almost £400 was spent on the new work, apart from the cost of demolition, borne by the archbishop.<sup>23</sup> Since Sudbury was recorded to have built 'the two aisles',<sup>24</sup> it is to be presumed that the side walls of the nave are part of his benefaction and that their date of design goes back approximately to 1377-78. That some work was already in hand in the building season of 1377 is shown by the gift of 6s. 8d. to the mason(s) of the new work of the nave in the accounts of 1376-7.<sup>25</sup>

Little was done for some years after the murder of Sudbury on 14 June 1381, though the earthquake of 21 May 1382 did considerable damage at Canterbury and the King gave order on 25 July for the impressment of

masons in Kent, Surrey and Sussex for immediate repairs.<sup>26</sup> These seem to have been to various parts of the monastic buildings rather than to the church.<sup>27</sup> Fresh impetus was given to the new work by Prior Thomas Chillenden when he took over in the spring of 1391. A chronicle written in 1414 records the sums spent in each year 'for the continuation of the fabric of the church', from 1391-2 until 1397-8, to a total of £3,064 7s. 6d.<sup>28</sup> This agrees well with the more summary reference that by 1397 upwards of 5,000 marks (£3,333 6s. 8d.) had been spent by the Prior and Convent on the construction of the nave 'and other necessary works'.<sup>29</sup> This latter statement clearly excludes monies laid out by the Archbishops and outside aid such as the amount of over £1,000 as well as jewels given by King Richard II.<sup>30</sup> The annual sum laid out by the priory itself, over £400 a year on average, reached the peak of £707 in 1394-5. In 1396-7 we have a valuable statement in the Prior's account that there were 20 masons, 3 setters (*leggeres*) and 4 labourers hired for the whole year, except the three weeks of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, for £167 0s. 8d., with £6 for 300 loads of quicklime, 16s. 8d. for casting 100 cartloads of sand, and £2 for sharpening the masons' tools and other necessaries. In the same year lead and stone were bought from Master Henry 'Ivele' for £90 16s.<sup>31</sup>

### Craftsmen and Masters

Throughout the Middle Ages the Crown exercised a power of impressment over craftsmen, who were conscripted by official purveyors and set to work at the king's wages. The pay was usually higher than that outside the royal works, and travelling expenses were allowed to the pressed men, some compensation for the arbitrary levy. Influential private patrons such as the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Prior of Christ Church could obtain exemptions from impressment for their craftsmen, and these were enrolled. From such enrolments we obtain the names of seven masons, a carpenter, a plumber and a smith who were in the employ of the church of Canterbury between 1380 and 1398. The masons were John Asshe (1380), John Brien (1390-97), Richard Cook (1380-87), James Gilet (Gilot, Gylot, 1380-93), Thomas Hoo (1380-98), Geoffrey Well (1380), and Richard Weyland (1380). The carpenter was John Wolward (Woller, Wulward, 1390-98); the plumber John Broun (1393-98); and the smith John Bernesale (1393). There is a strong presumption that these men formed the vital core of the cathedral's labour force during the rebuilding of the nave. Two of them, Hoo and Wolward, ranked as esquires in 1398, along with Broun the plumber.<sup>32</sup>

In the texts of the exemptions none of these craftsmen is named as master. This does not prove that they were junior to the level of a master in skill, but it does make it improbable that any of them was the Master in full charge of the building. Thomas Hoo, who very likely was the resident master or warden, site architect in modern terms, is not referred to as 'Master' in any known document, whereas chief masters who acted as architects normally were so termed. Hoo, and the carpenter John Wolward, were not the only craftsmen ranking as esquires of the Prior's household at Christmas 1398; so did Henry Yeveley and Stephen Lote, who were described as masters in many other records.<sup>33</sup>

Regardless of a mason's status as a master, he would only rarely be given that title in the records of a given job unless he were the chief master and designer or, in a case such as that of Lote, a deputy or secondary master. There was a regular system of ranks and for most works of moderate size it was usual to have a Master and a Warden—the latter a fully skilled mason who had charge in the master's absence. On very large jobs there might be a second master as subaltern to the chief architect, as well as the warden. Examples of this hierarchy of building organisation occur from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but it is not until the fifteenth that there is positive evidence concerning Christ Church, Canterbury. At York Minster about 1310 Hugh de Boudon was described as master of the work of masonry, at a time when the chief master was Simon le Mason, in evidence from 1301 or earlier until his death in 1322; and in 1345 William de Worsall, who had taken up the freedom of York in 1338, was officially described as undermaster of the Minster work (*submagister operis fabrice*).<sup>34</sup> On the works of Portchester Castle in 1396-99 there was a threefold hierarchy: Master Henry Yeveley as the King's Master Mason in chief control; his warden or deputy Walter Walton, who visited the works on Yeveley's behalf; and Walter Weston the subwarden in immediate charge on the site.<sup>35</sup> At Abingdon Abbey in 1375-6 Master William Wynford was paid a fee of £3 6s. 8d. and a robe costing 18s. with fur 2s. 10d. The mason in charge on the site, William Stevenes, took normal wages of 3s. a week, but also had a robe price 12s. 10d.<sup>36</sup>

Early in the fifteenth century a similar system is evident at Canterbury Cathedral. The prior's liveries for Christmas 1423 were delivered to his esquires including John Morys mason 'of the suit of Esquires' (*de secti Armig*) and Magister Thomas Mapylton mason (*latham*); in 1429 under the same heading were Magister Thomas Mapylton master of the masons (*magister lathomorum*) and John Morys warden of the lodge of masons (*custos de le loygge lathamorum*).<sup>37</sup> In subsequent categories were listed liveries given to the lodge masons (*Lathami de la loygge*) and to the apprentices. From these later classified entries those of 1398 in the list of esquires become fully intelligible. Three known masons of standing appear: Henry Yeveley, Stephen Lote, and Thomas Hoo. It is reasonable to suppose that they were the architect; his deputy Lote (frequently evidenced elsewhere as Yeveley's warden or junior partner); and the warden in constant charge on the site.<sup>38</sup>

### *Master Henry Yeveley*

Far from there being anything unlikely in the proposition that the King's Master Mason—Henry Yeveley from 1360 until his death in 1400—was also architect for other buildings outside the royal works, there is extremely strong circumstantial evidence in favour of the hypothesis. Yeveley, who had taken up the freedom of London in 1353, was the Black Prince's mason by 1357 and from 25 June 1360 held office as disposer of the King's works of masonry in the Palace of Westminster and the Tower of London at 1s. a day. His position was that of a royal architect from the start, for he was called 'designer of the masonry of our works'. He was able to carry on private practice and continued to work for the Black Prince, who ordered £60 to be paid to

him for building in November 1362, when work on his manor of Kennington in Lambeth was being brought to a conclusion. At this very time, 1362-63, the Prince's chantry chapel was built in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, and his manor of Vauxhall beside Kennington was transferred to the monks of Christ Church. The Prince is likely to have consulted Yeveley for the design of the chapel before he left in February 1363 to take up rule in Bordeaux as Prince of Aquitaine.<sup>39</sup>

Yeveley had a direct relationship with Christ Church Priory by 1375-76, when he was their tenant for property in London, paying 10s. rent for two years and continuing for many years thereafter.<sup>40</sup> By itself this might not be significant, but in 1379-80 a compotus of the Treasurers of Christ Church shows a large payment of £110 9s. 4d. to Master Henry Yeveley, Thomas Elys and others for the debt of John Molasshe, cellarar; as well as £66 13s. 4d. paid to the two monks who were supervisors of the new work of the nave of the church.<sup>41</sup> As has already been mentioned, Yeveley was later paid £90 16s. 0d. for lead and stone by Prior Chillenden in 1396-97.<sup>42</sup>

In any case Yeveley was visiting Canterbury in connection with work on the defences of the city and close. From the autumn of 1378 there was a succession of writs of aid and other official incentives to complete the refortification of the city. The West Gate is the most important architectural feature of this campaign. Yeveley was officially to survey the work in 1385; in the February following £200 had been spent on the city walls under his control; in December 1386 he was to have the oversight of repairs to the walls of the close.<sup>43</sup> In 1390 Master Henry Yeveley was to advise on the repair of Canterbury Castle and from 1391 to 1393 he was to advise on the spending of £200 upon repairs of the 'dungeon'. In 1391-92 Yeveley, with Sir John de Cobham and others, was supervising work on the city walls and a new tower next the West Gate.<sup>44</sup>

That one of the King's Master Masons should at the same time be architect for official fortifications and for cathedral building was nothing new. Master Thomas Witney, architect of Exeter Cathedral from 1316 to 1342, was also in charge of official works on the Castle there from 1321 to 1325.<sup>45</sup> William Wynford, architect for William of Wykeham's colleges at Oxford and Winchester and for the nave of Winchester Cathedral from 1394 until his death in 1405, was also one of the architectural commission (with Yeveley and the King's carpenter Hugh Herland) which had charge of major works on Winchester Castle from 1390 until 1404.<sup>46</sup> Another factor, commonly overlooked, would be likely to bring an official designer to Canterbury: the cathedral, like York and the Abbey church of Westminster, was regarded as of royal foundation. At Westminster all the major campaigns were directed by Crown masters, and even as far off as York, William Colchester was sent by Henry IV to take charge, in 1407.

There is, therefore, a clear chain of evidence leading to one conclusion: that the nave of Canterbury was designed by the master mason of the King, its patron; and of the Black Prince, who felt a special devotion to the cathedral. In the lack of surviving fabric accounts, this conclusion falls short of documentary proof; but the clinching comparison of individual style goes beyond that. All the elements of the

window tracery, of the piers and their mouldings, of the west doorway, of the vault, are demonstrably from the same hand as the equivalent parts of Yeveley's known works: the Westminster nave, west doorway, and Abbot's Hall; the West Gate at Canterbury; Cowling Castle; Westminster Hall with its north porch. Where there is any discrepancy, as in the gridiron tracery of the Canterbury west window, it is attributable to completion under Yeveley's assistant Stephen Lote. It has to be borne in mind that in 1390 Yeveley was granted an exemption for life on the grounds of his heavy commitments as the King's Mason and of his great age. No doubt an increasing amount of detail was left to others as time went on, but this is normal practice and does nothing to detract from the magnificence of the original conception. Yeveley, though not the creator of the Perpendicular style, consolidated its usage at the highest level of the royal works. His practice, for private clients as well as for the Crown, was wide enough to entitle him to be termed, in Arthur Oswald's phrase, 'the Wren of the fourteenth century'.<sup>47</sup> Among surviving buildings of his period the nave of Canterbury Cathedral ranks highest for its noble composition and finely adjusted detail: let us not seek to diminish his just fame, but give the full credit to Master Henry Yeveley.

### Acknowledgements

In the course of my studies in the architecture of Canterbury Cathedral, now extending over nearly fifty years, I have received much generous help from experts now gone from us: firstly from Arthur Oswald, and also from a group of scholars who knew the buildings far more closely than was ever possible for me: Margaret Babington, W. P. Blore, Dorothy Gardiner, V. J. Torr, and William Urry. I wish also to record my gratitude to Canon Derek Ingram Hill and to many members of the cathedral staff, past and present.

JOHN HARVEY.

### ABBREVIATIONS

In the notes which follow abbreviations are used for books and articles frequently quoted:

AC—*Archaeologia Cantiana* (Kent Archaeological Society).

CCR—*Calendar of Close Rolls*.

CPR—*Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

EMA—J. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects* (1954); revised and enlarged edition (1984).

Harvey 1944—J. Harvey, *Henry Yevele c. 1320 to 1400*.

Harvey 1946—'Recent Discoveries in the Archives of Canterbury Cathedral: a Note on the Craftsmen', AC, LVIII, 35-39.

Harvey 1947—'Some Details and Mouldings used by Yevele', *The Antiquaries Journal*, XXVII, 51-60.

Harvey 1952—'Henry Yevele Reconsidered', *Archaeological Journal*, CVIII, 100-08.

Harvey 1957—'The Masons of Westminster Abbey', *Archaeological Journal*, CXIII, 82-101.

Harvey 1962—'The Origin of the Perpendicular Style', in *Studies in Building History*, ed. E. M. Jope, 134-65.

Harvey 1972—*The Mediaeval Architect*.

Harvey 1976—‘The Black Prince and his Artists’, *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*, No. 70, 1976, 29–34.

Harvey 1978—*The Perpendicular Style*.

Harvey 1982—‘Archbishop Simon of Sudbury and the Patronage of Architecture in the Middle Ages’, *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*, No. 76, 1982, 22–32.

HKW—*History of the King’s Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin (vols. I, II, 1963).

JBA—*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*.

Knoop and Jones 1337—D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *An Introduction to Freemasonry*.

Oswald 1939—A. Oswald, ‘Canterbury Cathedral: the Nave and its Designer’, *The Burlington Magazine*, No. 441, LXXV, December 1939, 221–8.

PRO—Public Record Office.

Willis 1845—R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*.

#### REFERENCES

1. Max J. Friedländer wrote: ‘The ultimate, the most fruitful question, even if it cannot be answered, is and remains that which concerns personality’. (*On Art and Connoisseurship*, 1942).
2. This principle was laid down by Wilhelm Vöge in his inaugural lecture at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau in 1910 (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N. F., XXV, 1914, 193–216; English translation by Mrs. Barbara Chabrowe in R. Branner, *Chartres Cathedral*, 1969, 209).
3. By Dr. Francis Woodman in *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (1981)—see Appendix.
4. Particularly in Harvey 1972. What is known of some 1300 practitioners of architecture and the allied crafts will be found in EMA. References not given here will be found in these two books.
5. In his two books *Westminster Abbey and the Kings’ Craftsmen* (1906) and *Westminster Abbey Re-examined* (1925), especially the latter, p. 91.
6. Notably by Francis B. Andrews, *The Mediaeval Builder and his Methods* (1925), especially pp. 52–8; T. F. Hobson and F. E. Howard in *Adderbury “Rectoria”* (Oxfordshire Record Society, 1926), 26–41; and by Martin S. Briggs, *The Architect in History* (Oxford, 1927), 53–129. It was Howard who, before his early death in 1934, was probing the question of moulding profiles and other stylistic details.
7. Beyond what had been included in the *Dictionary of Architecture*, between 40 and 80 years earlier, long outdated and incomplete.
8. William and John H. Harvey, ‘Master Hugh Herland’, *The Connoisseur*, June 1936, XCVII, 333–6; scale drawings of mouldings (p. 334) were used to emphasize the common authorship of the wooden vault of Winchester College Chapel, indicated by documentary references to Herland.
9. Willis 1845, 117–19.
10. *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, XLVI (1933), 70–114; Knoop and Jones 1937 (Manchester University Press). I must here pay tribute to the kindness of the late Professor Knoop in sending me these vitally important works, as well as copies of many later items.
11. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Tanner, 165.
12. Oswald 1939.
13. A revised edition of EMA has now been published (Gloucester, Alan Sutton Publishing).
14. Harvey 1944, especially pp. 63–7. I must again draw attention to my error in following the spelling ‘Yevele’; the correction to Yeveley indicates the pronunciation and draws attention to his origins at Yeaveley in Derbyshire.
15. AC, LVI for 1943 (1944), 48–53.
16. ‘Recent Discoveries in the Archives of Canterbury Cathedral’, AC, LVIII for 1945 (1946), 28–42.
17. Harvey 1944 (2nd edition, Spring 1946), 68.

18. Harvey 1947. This was deliberately an attempt to pioneer accurate study of detail as a means to individual attribution; almost all the mouldings, including those from Canterbury Cathedral and West Gate, were measured on the site. Profiles from works by William Wynford and other royal masters were included. See further in Appendix (concerning pp. 162-3).
19. Harvey 1952.
20. See above, note 4. Some relevant matters are discussed in R. P. Howgrave-Graham, 'Westminster Abbey, the sequence and dates of the transepts and nave', *JBAA*, 3 S., XI (1948), 60-78; and in Harvey 1957.
21. Harvey 1978, 97-137; plates 34-5, 50-1, 62, 85, 90-1; figs. 11, 30-32.
22. C. E. Woodruff and W. Danks, *Memorials of the Cathedral and Priory of Christ in Canterbury* (1912), 158-9.
23. AC, XLVIII, 79; cf. Willis 1845, 117-19.
24. William of Chartam's *Historiola* of 1448 (*Anglia Sacra*, I, 49). For the part played by Sudbury see Harvey 1982.
25. 'Item dat' cementar' noui operis nauis ecclesie' (Lambeth Palace MS. 243, f. 171v).
26. *CPR 1381-85*.
27. The accounts for 1382-3 include several items put down to repair of damage caused by the earthquake: £1 4s. 5d. for works within the Court (*infra curiam*); repair of the north side of the Infirmary Chapel, destroyed by the earthquake, £11 14s. 6d.; and £7 19s. for repair of the prior's lavatory, the cloister lavatory, and the wall of the cloister from the door of the Chapter-house to the door of the Dormitory, destroyed by the earthquake (Canterbury Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts, xv, 2, printed by W. P. Blore in AC, LVIII (1946), 31).
28. C. E. Woodruff, 'A Monastic Chronicle of Christ Church, Canterbury', AC, XXIX, 47-84. Arthur Oswald rectified certain mistakes in Woodruff's versions of the sums spent.
29. Willis 1845, 118 note i.
30. British Library, Arundel MS. 68, f. 19.
31. W. P. Blore in AC, I VIII (1946), 31-2, quoting Prior's account xvii. 4.
32. Harvey 1946, 36-7: careers of Hoo and Wolward are in EMA, 137, 302; revised edition 148, 346.
33. EMA, 171-3, 312-20; rev. ed. 187-9, 358-66.
34. G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant edd., *A History of York Minster* (1977), 190; cf. EMA, 243-4, 304; rev. ed. 274, 348.
35. EMA, 277, 292, 316; rev. ed. 314, 331, 362; in 1384-5 the works at Portchester had been under Master Hugh Kympton, paid at 8d. a day against the working masons' usual 6d.; but under the instructions of Yeveley (*per ordinacionem Magistri Henrici Yeveley*).
36. R. E. G. Kirk ed., *Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey* (Camden Society, N. S., LI, 1892), 28.
37. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Tanner, 165, ff. 128, 132v. In this case it is certain that Mapilton was the architect for the south-west tower.
38. See EMA, 171-3; rev. ed. 187-9, for Lote's career. Lote succeeded Yeveley as the King's Master Mason, and received livery of the Prior at Canterbury in 1412 and 1416, the only surviving lists from the period before his death late in 1417.
39. Harvey 1976.
40. Canterbury Cathedral, Bedel's rolls, London, 49 Edward III et seq.
41. Ibid., volume of Miscellaneous Accounts, No. 2, f. 323.
42. See above, note 31.
43. *CPR 1385-9*, 103; *CCR 1385-9*, 121, 207.
44. *CPR 1388-92*, 249, 261; PRO, E 364/27(D); *CCR 1392-6*, 45-6, 240. For Yeveley's military work see J. G. O. Whitehead, 'Henry Yeveley, Military Engineer', *The Royal Engineers Journal*, 1974, 102-10.
45. HKW, II, 649; cf. J. Harvey in L. S. Colchester ed., *Wells Cathedral* (1982), 78.
46. EMA, 309, 317; rev. ed. 353, 363; cf. HKW, II, 864.
47. Oswald 1939, 222.

## APPENDIX. Dr. Woodman's Book

In *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, published late in 1981, Francis Woodman states: (p. 160) "the evidence to support this attribution (of the nave to Yeveley) is slight and inconclusive;" (p. 163) "Thomas of Hoo is the only candidate that can be considered as its designer on present evidence... On balance, Thomas of Hoo should be credited for building the nave of Canterbury Cathedral, and probably for the design of the greater part of it."

Thomas of Hoo's position as a builder is not in doubt (for his whole career see EMA, 137; revised edition, 148); and his relationship with Yeveley is there discussed (pp. 7, 8; rev. ed., xlv, xlvi). The claim that he was a designer does not rest upon any positive evidence and runs counter to all that is known of architectural design and methods in the Middle Ages. The fact that Hoo is never called 'Master' is conclusively against his architectural status.

The case for Hoo depends then upon Dr. Woodman's evaluation of the evidence produced in his book, which suffers from mistaken quotations and references:

(p. 154) "In the year of Courtenay's death (1396), the king (Richard II) remitted £160 in tax due from the convent 'in satisfaction of a sum promised to them by the King on account of the heavy expenditure on their works in the front'. Note <sup>12</sup> refers to PRO, Memoranda Rolls, E 159/172, a source first published by me in 1962 (Harvey 1962, 156 note <sup>51</sup>) with the full reference: E 159/172, 'Brevia Directa, Easter rot. 9; / 173, Mich. rot. 11'; and with a full translation in F. R. H. DuBoulay and C. M. Barron, *The Reign of Richard II* (1971), p. 209 note <sup>29</sup>: 'in satisfaction of a sum promised to them by the king on account of their heavy expenditure on their works, in aid of the building of the (west) front of their church'. (The italicized parts of my translation are omitted by Woodman).

(p 155) (The west porch) "The interior has an elaborate lierne vault containing one of the many 'portraits of the dead Henry Yevele'.<sup>16</sup>" The marginal note reads: "J. Harvey, *Henry Yevele*, p. 49". In fact the purported quotation *does not occur anywhere in my book*, which (p. 78) has an Appendix on portraits of Yeveley, only one of which (in the east walk of the Canterbury Cloisters) appears to be based on a death-mask, as first suggested by the late Mrs. Dorothy Gardiner. It is singular that (p. 264) Dr. Woodman again refers, within quotation marks, to "portraits of the dead Henry Yevele".

(p. 160) 'Yevele's first known association with Canterbury was in 1385—some ten building seasons after the commencement of the new nave—when he served on the king's commission for the repairs to the city walls.' In fact, as stated in 1954 (EMA, 315) the Treasurers had in 1379-80 paid £110 9s. 4d. to Master Henry Yeveley and others (see above, and note <sup>41</sup>). There had also been Yeveley's known tenancy of Christ Church property in London by 1375 (above, note <sup>40</sup>). Yeveley's position as the Black Prince's mason in 1359-62 had associated him indirectly with Canterbury much earlier still.

(pp. 160-1) ‘In 1396-7 Yevele supplied lead and stone. . . material that is normally assumed to have been for the nave. But Yevele had entered into an agreement with the prior over the city defences within the precincts. . . It was probably for this work that Yevele received Livery from the prior in 1398. . .’ On the contrary, this payment of £96 16s. in 1396-7 is entered in the Prior’s account roll (xvii. 4) under the heading *Fabrica Ecclesie*, proof that the lead and stone were for the cathedral church.

(p. 161) “These are the only references to connect Henry Yevele with Canterbury Cathedral and all would appear to relate to the agreement concerning the city walls drawn up in 1386.<sup>18</sup>” As has been seen, this is incorrect in both respects.

(note<sup>18</sup>) “For the latest discussion on the role of Henry Yevele, see A. D. Mclees (*sic*), ‘Henry Yevele, disposer of the King’s works of masonry’, *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, 36, 1973, pp. 52-71.” This was, by 1980/81, far from being ‘the latest discussion’ of the role of Yeveley. On 26 October 1978 had been published my book *The Perpendicular Style 1330-1485*, in which 40 pages (97-137) deal exhaustively with ‘The Age of Henry Yeveley 1360-1400’, with blocks of his typical details and of his mouldings compared with those of his contemporaries (Figs. 11, 30-32). That my book was known to Dr. Woodman is shown by its inclusion in his bibliography (p. 274).

(pp. 162-3) Woodman discusses in some detail various moulding profiles and gives a drawing of five bases marked ‘Not to Scale’; but does not refer to my paper in *The Antiquaries Journal* of 1947 which included scale drawings measured on the site in July 1946 by permission of the Dean and Chapter, and discussed for the first time the various comparisons made, some 35 years later, by Woodman. My scale profiles were reprinted in *The Mediaeval Architect* (1972) and in *The Perpendicular Style* (1978).

(p. 163) “The date of the (west) porch at Westminster Abbey is uncertain—Lethaby (*sic*) thought as early as c. 1375, in which case it would have been the work of John Palterton, master mason of the Abbey until at least 1379.<sup>21</sup>” Note<sup>21</sup>: “W. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey Re-examined*, pp. 139-40.”

Lethaby in fact wrote that Yeveley ‘was chief adviser at the church (Westminster) from the time of his appointment as King’s mason in 1360 or even earlier’. Lethaby does *not* suggest a date of c. 1375 for the west porch, but *does* remark: ‘The porch and surrounding work is closely like Yevele’s porch at Westminster Hall’; also: ‘The (west) window closely resembles the end windows of Westminster Hall and, like them, must have been designed by Yevele’; again: ‘I reach the conclusion that the whole front was carried on according to a design by Henry Yevele’.

## REGIMENTAL COLOURS IN THE WARRIORS' CHAPEL, ETC.

Mediaeval man usually liked his churches to be glowing with colour—colour from paintings, hangings, stained glass, tiles, decorated shrines and even from ribs and mouldings picked out in gold, blue and scarlet. To him our modern churches would have looked a little drab. But one part of Canterbury Cathedral that he would have enjoyed is the Warriors' (or St. Michael's, or Holland, or Buffs') Chapel although ironically, much of the colour there—the Jacobean monuments, the stained glass and the regimental colours—is post-mediaeval. This article is a description of the third of these sources, the regimental colours. Most of my information comes from the appropriate regimental histories, supplemented occasionally by the Buffs regimental magazine and local newspapers. I am indebted to Majors Blaxland, Poulsen and Tennent, all late of the Buffs, for help with some of the details.

From time immemorial fighting men have needed some sort of clearly visible symbol which they can follow and to which they can rally in battle. Primitive tribes carried totems, Roman legions had their eagles, western civilisation tended more to use various sorts of flags. Or in earlier times Christian forces would often follow a holy relic, or an icon, or a cross: indeed it was regarding the cross that the Emperor Constantine was given the directive *in hoc signo vinces*. Such symbols became associated with acts of epic gallantry, and came to be treated with great veneration. Alfred the Great's domination of the Vikings largely stemmed from his capture of the great Raven banner: the collapse of the English cause at Hastings really came with the loss of the great standard and not just from Harold's death.

And so it continued until about a century ago. Soldiers continued to look on their colours as the embodiment of their regimental spirit, and they fought to the death to defend them. For instance, each year the Buffs still celebrate the battle of Albuhera, fought in 1811 during the Peninsular War when, in the face of an overwhelming attack by French Hussars and Polish Lancers, there was an epic defence of the colours, in the course of which Lieutenant Latham still held the king's colour with half his face cut away and his left arm almost severed.

During the Middle Ages flags developed under the rules of heraldry: feudal levies would wear the badge and livery of their Lord, and would rally to his banner. Or they might be organised into companies, each under a lesser baron or a knight baronet, and the company colours would be the leader's personal banner. As the feudal system faded companies joined together into regiments, but even in the early 18th century regiments still tended to be known by the name of their colonel, and to carry his heraldic badge on their colours.

In the 17th century regiments had several colours; the colonel's, the lieutenant-colonel's and a colour for each company. In the early 18th century the number was reduced to three, then later to two colours, to each regiment. Finally, in 1751 the whole system was regularised when a Royal Warrant established the colours which are still the rule: a King's (or Queen's) Colour consisting of the Union Flag bearing the regiment's

number, and a Regimental Colour comprising a flag the same colour as the regiment's uniform facings, and bearing the regiment's title, badge, motto etc. From about 1815 it became customary to show battle honours on the regimental colour, and after 1925, in order to find more space, World War I honours were inscribed on king's colours. Other details have been modified over the years, but in principle colours are the same to-day.

As the 19th century wore on and methods of warfare changed it became less appropriate for colours to be carried in the field. With the Buffs the last occasion that they were taken on campaign was during the Zulu War of 1875. But colours are still treated with immense respect. They are kept in protective sheaths in ceremonial cases in officers' messes, they are only taken out in the care of armed ceremonial guards, and when met they are accorded the same marks of respect as would be paid to the Sovereign. Early colours have been lost: some, it seems passed into private hands; some were buried; some were burned. But by the middle of the 19th century it had become the custom for old colours to be laid up in some suitable church or chapel, usually somewhere in the regiment's territory. For Canterbury the local regiment is the Buffs. The earliest surviving Buff colours—those used by the first battalion from 1830 to 1848—are now in the Tower of London; another pair of colours was put in the London Guildhall (the regimental colour was destroyed in a World War II air-raid and the king's colour is now in St. Lawrence Jewry), a third pair was laid up at Sandringham, and some more are in the Buffs' Museum; but the other surviving Buff colours are here in the Warriors' Chapel.

### *The Buffs*

The regiment originated in 1572, when a company of 300 Trained Band volunteers was formed to go to help the Dutch in their struggles against Spain. This force remained in Holland until 1665 and saw considerable service against the Spanish armies. Indeed it is from this period that the Buffs contributed their first splash of colour to the Warriors' Chapel, for two of the monuments on the north wall are to old Buffs, Thomas Thornhurst who fought at the battle of Nieuport in 1600, and William Prude who was killed at the siege of Maestricht in 1632. In 1665, with the resumption of the Anglo-Dutch wars, the Dutch demanded an oath of allegiance from their English soldiers and at least half refused and returned to England to reform as the 'Holland Regiment'. It is upon this date that the regiment's seniority as the 3rd Regiment of Foot depends.

As the battle honours show, the regiment played a distinguished part in all the major wars that followed, especially in all four of Marlborough's victories (at which they were variously known as 'Prince George of Denmark's', 'Churchill's, and 'Argyll's'), in the Peninsular War and at the taking of Sevastopol in the Crimean War. They spent many years in India and served in Africa, Malaya and China.

They were first referred to officially by the complete title of 'The 3rd Regiment, or The Buffs' in 1751 and were first affiliated to Kent, though somewhat loosely, in 1782. Both the 1st and the 2nd battalions (the 2nd



*Yevele's Nave with Colours of the 31st Regiment of Foot*

had been raised at Limerick in 1857) had their depot established at Canterbury in 1873, and it is from this date that the really close connection with East Kent began. After the general reorganisation of 1881 The East Kent Militia was absorbed as the 3rd battalion, and at this time the regiment's title became 'The Buffs (East Kent Regiment)'. The 4th and 5th battalions were formed as Territorial battalions on conversion from Volunteers in 1908.

The 1st, 2nd and 3rd battalions all fought in the Boer War. In the 1914-18 war the regiment expanded to 16 battalions and in the 1939-45 war to 11. By 1948 it was down to only one regular battalion and two territorial. In 1961 the regular element of the Buffs amalgamated with that of the Royal West Kents to become the Queen's Own Buffs, The Royal Kent Regiment; and at the end of 1966 this merged into the Queen's Regiment. In April 1967 the territorial battalions also merged into the Queen's Regiment, and this saw the final disappearance of The Buffs as a separate entity.

The name 'Buff's' derived from the colour of the uniform facings. Tradition says that this stems from the Trained Band days of the 16th century, when jenkins, breeches and stockings were buff; but certainly by the late 17th century the regiment had buff facings and linings to its red coats, and the 1757 Royal Warrant gave formal recognition to the title 'Buff's'. With a few short breaks buff facings to dress uniform have been kept to this day.

TEMPEST HAY.

## THE COLOURS

These are given reading from East (altar) to West (entrance). Except for the first four they are all in pairs: the Regimental Colour, consisting of a plain coloured flag covered in battle honours, the name, etc; and the King's Colours, consisting of the Union Flag and bearing the regiment's name, and sometimes some more battle honours.

### 1. North Side

#### a. *Highest level*

##### *1, 2, 3 and 4*

6th, 7th, 8th and 10th Battalions The Buffs. These plain silk Union Flags, just one to each battalion, were a special provision made in 1919 for wartime battalions. They were laid up immediately, on the battalions being disbanded.

##### *5 and 6*

4th Battalion The Buffs (Territorials) 1960-77. (The 5th Battalion colours of the same date are in the Buffs' Museum.)

b. *Main level*

(i) East panel

1, 2

2nd Battalion The Buffs 1928-56

3, 4

2nd Battalion The Buffs, Regimental Colour 1891-1928, King's Colour 1886-1928.

(ii) West panel

5, 6

1st Battalion The Buffs 1906-32. These colours were carried by the battalion into Germany on 16th December, 1918.

7, 8

1st Battalion The Buffs 1932-55.

9, 10

5th Battalion The Buffs (Weald of Kent), territorials 1922-60.

11, 12

4th Battalion The Buffs territorials 1909-60.

(iii) Outer arch

13, 14

1st Battalion The Buffs 1955-63.

2. **South Side**

a. *SE Corner (over Rooke monument)*

1, 3

East Kent Regiment of Militia. Probably in use before 1855. Later Colours are in the Buffs Museum. After 1881 the Militia became 3rd Battalion The Buffs.

2, 4

1st Battalion The Buffs 1848-64. These Colours were taken to the Crimea and were the only British Colours to be carried into Sevastopol.

b. *Between windows, top*

5, 6

1st Battalion The Buffs 1864-92.

c. *Between windows, bottom*

7, 8

198th Battalion Canadian Buffs. This was one of the battalions of the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada and formed part of the the Canadian Expeditionary Force in the 1914-18 war.

d. *End arch*

9, 10

1st Battalion The Queen's Own Buffs, The Royal Kent Regiment 1962-6. The amalgamation of the Buffs and the Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment.

11, 12

1st Battalion The Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment ('The Queen's Own'). These Colours, presented in 1956, were laid up in 1963, two years after the regiment had amalgamated with the Buffs.

#### POSTSCRIPT: OTHER COLOURS

*In the Nave* (see illustration). On the North wall of the nave, near the pulpit, is a memorial to nine officers (by name) and 203 NCO's and privates of the 31st regiment of foot, the Huntingdonshire regiment, who died in India during the Sutlej campaign of 1845. Hanging over it is a pair of rather cobwebby colours of this regiment. These colours had been presented in 1827, were carried with great distinction during the Sutlej campaign, and were laid up in about 1848. The 31st regiment had at one time, after an incident at the battle of Dettigan in 1743, been known as "The Young Buffs". With the Cardwell reforms of 1881 they became the 1st battalion the East Surrey Regiment; and this in turn was one of the six regiments (including the Buffs) that joined together in 1966 to form the Queen's Regiment.

#### *Old Comrade flags, or 'standards', on the S. W. Transept*

Over the door in the south wall of the south west transept are the following flags, from east to west:

1. Kent Cyclists Battalions: Old Comrades' Association. This was a volunteer organisation which first came into being in 1908. During the 1914-18 war it increased to three battalions, the first of which was sent to India early in the war, to release a regular battalion for use in Europe. The last of this cyclist battalion did not get home from India until December, 1919, and the unit was finally disbanded in 1921.
2. Royal Naval Old Comrades' Association, Canterbury District Branch.
3. Old Contemptibles' Association 1914. At the outbreak of the 1914-18 war the German Kaiser is said to have given the scornful order that his forces should "... walk over General French's contemptible little army". The German walk was not successful, and the British Expeditionary Force of 1914 themselves adopted with pride the Kaiser's epithet "contemptible".
4. British Legion, South East Area.
5. RAF Association, East Kent Region.

## 11 THE PRECINCTS, THE EVOLUTION OF A HOUSE

The house in the Precincts where the Friends have their office was recently surveyed by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust as part of the preparations for some internal changes. It looks from outside a pleasant 18th century house with large windows and a handsome porch, a house where some 18th century canon's family might have enjoyed a comfortable life and used the bay window as an unrivaled position for observing their neighbours. Precincts houses, however, are rarely what they seem. This survey produced interesting evidence of how a house can change in shape and in architectural and decorative detail over the centuries.

11 The Precincts was never an official canonical house, and its origins go back to about 1600, when the Revd. Dr. Richard Wood, Canon of Stall I, built a house there, running north from the medieval priory wall towards the cathedral, just to the east of the Christ Church Gate. His own official house was on the south side of the monastic infirmary chapel at the other end of the south precinct, but since a lodging converted from part of a stone chapel was probably not convenient, a freshly built timber-framed building like those in the city may have suited Dr. Wood better.

The house was rather like the one in Palace Street now used as the King's School Shop, dated 1617, though it may not have had the overhanging jetties. Both houses were rectangular and originally entered from the side. Facing the front door was a staircase, and behind the staircase was a large chimney. On each side of the chimney bay there were two rooms, four more upstairs, and a garret in the roof space. Both houses had roofs with queen struts and clasp-side purlins. At Dr. Wood's house the kitchen was at the south end and the living rooms were to the north. The panelling which is in the north rooms (at present Theodore Annexe) may be a survival from his date. Practically nothing is visible from the outside, except on the south where the foot of a rafter from his roof can be seen, and the stones of the priory wall on to which his timber-framing was set.

Houses built by members of the Chapter which were extra to the number of 'official lodgings' were leased as cathedral property, often to relatives of the builder, at least for two or three generations. The house built about 1610 at the south end of the Oaks by Archdeacon Charles Fotherby (later Dean) was tenanted by members of the Fotherby family and never used as a canonical house. After Dr. Wood's death, his house was let, and in 1626 it was rented by Archdeacon William Kingsley, who lived next-door-but-one in the large canonical lodging attached to Stall VIII (destroyed in 1942, now the site of South Close). Why Archdeacon Kingsley should need to rent an extra house is beyond discovery, but his widow continued the tenancy, and their grandson and great grandson stayed until 1704, so the intention presumably was to provide a family house. The lease required that they should keep the house in repair: they seem to have done rather more than that.

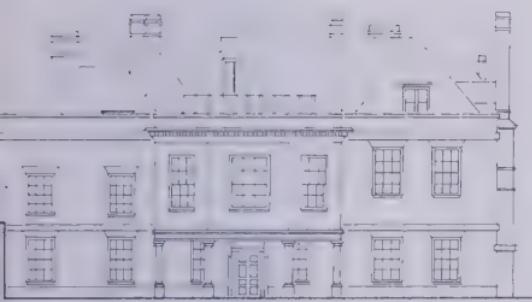
On a map of Canterbury dated about 1640, the house is drawn to show three gables facing north and an outbuilding to the west. In front

and at the east side is a garden or yard with a wall round it. By 1640, or probably earlier, the Kingsleys had made the house more than twice its original size. A taller block was built a little to the west of Dr. Wood's house, a block containing two rooms on each floor, with attics. A joining section was built in between the two blocks to hold the staircase at the south end and hall and front door at the north. The house had been as it were 'turned round' so that its facade and front door were to the north instead of the west. Fortunately there is a description of this house, made for the Parliamentary Survey of 1650. There was a courtyard in front of the house, a hall, two parlours, a kitchen, a wash-house and a larder downstairs, and four chambers, one large dining-room and a fair pair of stairs leading into the dining-room upstairs. In addition there were two attics, a cellar, a garden and a coach-house. The 'large dining-room' was what is now the Mary Wooster Room used for Chapter Meetings and other official gatherings, but the stairs—two flights and a landing, thus 'a pair of stairs'—were removed in the 1920's when the building was converted to make flats. The parlours and chambers remain, though altered.

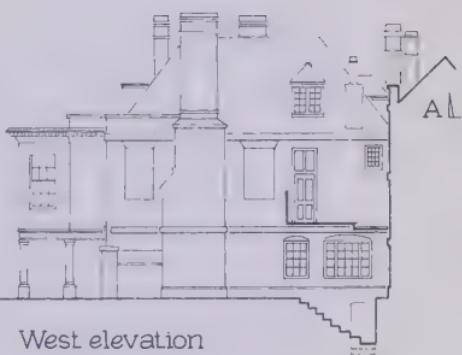
Probably in 1694 when the Kingsleys' grandson had the house, the best rooms were 'modernised'—the two at the north-west corner (upstairs and downstairs) were panelled and given new doors, also the small room upstairs on the west side. Much more drastic alterations occurred when the Kingsley family were succeeded by the Randolphs. Herbert Randolph was Recorder of Canterbury and had married a canon's daughter. His second wife succeeded him as tenant, and then one of his sons who was a Six Preacher, thus covering a period from 1704 to 1767. One of the Mrs. Randolphs must have desired 'a garden front' to her house, with regular sash windows, and a better facade to the Precincts. She no doubt thought the rooms in Dr. Wood's house small and dark. A narrow section was built to the east of the oldest block, enlarging the rooms and providing such a 'garden front'. The roof of the new section was continued half-way across the north side of the building: Dr. Wood's roof was cut back as far as the chimney to accommodate the new arrangement of attics for servants. The north side towards the Precincts was given a proper 18th century brick facade with sash windows and a parapet, although the effect was not perfect because the floor levels in Dr. Wood's house were preserved with the results that all the windows were not at the same height. This is a common feature in attempts to regularise mediaeval and 16th century houses, where the internal structure prevented the desired appearance of 'a neat brick house'. Houses in the Precincts were rarely 'neat'.

After this upheaval the structure of the house was almost complete as it now stands, but there were alterations from time to time. At the end of the 18th century, perhaps in the time of Mrs. Jemima Brydges (1787-1807), a large porch was made with four doric columns, and a bay window with a dentilled cornice was built above, adding to the house its most obvious feature today. Mrs. Brydges was the daughter of Canon William Egerton: as a widow she was one of the 'great ladies' of the Precincts. Her son was Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges of Lee Priory near Littlebourne, an eccentric landowner. There is at present no list of the 19th century tenants, but one of them 'threw out' a bay window, in

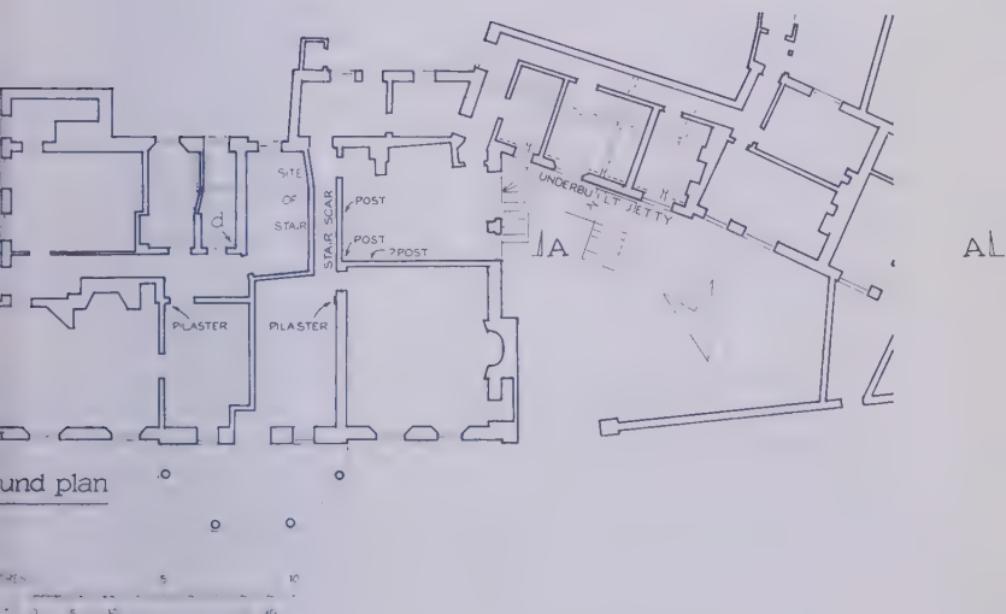
# NO. 11 THE PRECINCTS, CANTERBURY



North elevation



West elevation



Ground plan



Period 2 c.1650 (probably 1640)

Period 3

early C18th

gothic style on the east side, thus ruining the tidy garden front, and another installed fire-places and decorated the ceilings of the ground-floor front rooms with panelling and stars. The old dining-room of the Kingsley house was given an elaborate coved plaster ceiling, probably in the late 19th century.

During the time of Dean Bell (1924-29) the house was divided into flats. The ground floor made two flats, one entered from the garden and the other through the front door. The rather grand flat upstairs was approached up an iron staircase, from which there was access to a further flat over the outbuildings to the west, perhaps once rooms over the stables. This state of affairs continued until quite recently when the house was taken in hand for Cathedral office use as the leases fell in, and the attics were converted as a Hostel for visiting young people, such as the summer Cathedral Campers. The Friends now have a new office in the best downstairs room of the Kingsley house, on the right inside the front door, where Mrs. Jemima Brydges, Mrs. Grace Randolph and Mrs. Damaris Kingsley once saw the life of the Precincts flowing past their windows.

MARGARET SPARKS.

## LOOKING BACK IN PLEASURE

It was in 1971 that the late Canon Herbert Waddams asked me to survey the condition of the medieval stained glass in the Cathedral. Following my report I was asked by the Chapter to establish a workshop where restoration work could be carried out. I was joined at this stage by Derek White and together we made our temporary base at the derelict buildings in Best Lane which had been the long abandoned workshops of Samuel Caldwell.

In view of the complexity of the task ahead the Chapter appointed an advisory committee drawn from academic and museum circles.

In September 1972 the Corpus Vitrearum Colloquium was held in Canterbury when they confirmed my worst fears about the condition of the glass. Three windows in imminent danger of disintegration were removed to storage, one of these being Adam Delving, from the West Window, the glass of which was corroded into holes. The completion of our new workshop in the Precincts followed my tour of European Restoration Centres, in May 1973. It should be recorded that obtaining the basic equipment for the workshop was made easier by the generosity of the Pilgrim Trust and other grants of money were at this time obtained

from the Waites Foundation, the Radcliffe Trust and the Crafts Council. The staff had to be trained on the job though some had received art school training. Only one had previously worked with glass. Work during the ensuing year was devoted to training, experimenting and research.

At this time, little was known about the chemistry of glass and its reaction to age and weather. It was commonly thought that glass was indestructible and that corrosion where it occurred was due entirely to the effects of atmospheric pollution caused by exhaust emissions from the motor car. It has been hard to convince the critics that glass decomposition was due almost entirely to age and helped toward disintegration by our damp atmosphere. Every restoration process and material was evaluated by our scientific consultant, Professor Roy Newton, who also served as our link with Conservation Groups on the Continent. We have been at pains to develop these links with our European friends who share our concerns and interests; this has been a most rewarding aspect of our work. Our researches into techniques and materials proved difficult for we found that glass chemistry varied in different countries and that treatments and methods effective in one country were of little value when applied to the glass of Canterbury.

Therefore many of our early treatments did little to ensure the future life of the precious glass in its sick state. However, since it was one of our principles only to employ materials and methods that were reversible we were able to eliminate faulty techniques and develop further those methods most applicable to Canterbury's problems.

It is interesting now to note that parties and individual restorers come to us from Europe and America to study our methods, the latest being a television crew from Spain who spent a day in our studio making a film of the staff working on Canterbury glass. As only one member of the crew spoke English it is interesting to speculate on the quality of the instruction derived from the film.

The Appeal launched in 1974 opened a phase of particular interest to the Stained Glass Restoration Studio whose work proved of interest to many countries whose TV crews and journalists almost brought our work to a standstill. Two outstanding memories were the lectures given at St. James' Palace to Prince Charles and a distinguished and wealthy audience. The other being the exhibition of Canterbury windows at the Steuben Galleries on 5th Avenue, New York. An exercise in long-distance exhibition planning and logistics, this was described in the 1978 *Cathedral Chronicle*.

More recently in 1984 the Cathedral stained glass featured in the Exhibition of English Romanesque Art at the Hayward Gallery in London. Here, as in the New York Exhibition, the stained glass was only handled by our own staff; in this way the widows suffered no damage.

Since commencing our work in 1973, we have completed within schedule restoration of the Great South West Window, the Great West Window, three windows in the South Trinity Chapel Aisle, two windows in the South West Transept Clerestory, two in the North West Transept Clerestory, three windows in the North Triforium and two in the North Aisle of Trinity Chapel.

Now, as work starts on the restoration of the South Triforum windows the time has come for my retirement and the passing of responsibility for its direction and supervision to my successor, Mrs. June Lennox. This ends perhaps the most fascinating and rewarding phase of a life devoted to the craft of stained glass in all its aspects.

FREDERICK COLE.

## SERMON GIVEN BY THE DEAN OF WINCHESTER IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL ON SUNDAY, 22 JULY, 1984

"Touch me not", "Do not hold me", said the Risen Lord to Mary Magdalene. She had just realised that he was not the gardener as she had supposed, but the dear Jesus she had thought to be dead—and she'd flung herself at him to embrace him. But: "Do not hold me", or, translating the Greek more literally, "Stop clinging to me, for I am not yet ascended." This body has to do with the past and is in the process of being changed. Stop clinging to what is passing and look forward, and "go and tell my brothers that I am now ascending to my Father and your Father, my God and your God". For, as Paul put it in the closing words of today's Lesson, "the old order has gone, and a new order has begun".

This is an awe-inspiring building—and a true Friend of it will perhaps sometimes wonder whether the word "Friend" isn't a little bit presumptuous. Certainly this building does not encourage an easy familiarity; on the contrary, its great beauty, its great size, its great age, its great history and its great purpose command reverence, and make it difficult for mere mortals to disregard its pressing invitation to them to immerse themselves in its strong calm and mighty stillness and august serenity.

Strong calm? Mighty stillness? August serenity? Perhaps those words may stand; but not without qualification. If there is strength and calm and mighty stillness and serenity, these are only secured at a terrific price—a price of which most of us most of the time are totally unaware, a price which is being paid out continuously minute by minute, a price which is measured not in pounds but in tons. Let me quote Thomas Jackson, an architect who knew a great deal about cathedral structures, and was one of those responsible for saving Winchester Cathedral when it was in imminent danger of collapse eighty years ago. In his book *Reason in Architecture*, he wrote:

"It would surprise many people as they stand in the silence of some great Gothic minster, whose ancient stones seem to have grown old in peaceful calm and slumberous quiet, if they were to realize the truth that, so far from everything being at rest around them, they are surrounded by mighty unseen forces engaged in active combat, thrusting and counter-thrusting one another in fierce encounter, a never-ending conflict that never slackens between antagonists that never tire; the high vaults striving to push the walls outwards but rebuffed by the flying buttresses which try to push them inwards; the aisle vaults doing their best to push the nave columns inwards but unable to move them under the dead-weight of the superstructure of triforium and clerestory which holds them down; the whole fabric struggling to burst asunder, but manfully resisted by the system of countervailing forces, which only bargains as a condition of success, that their great parent buttresses outside shall stand like a rock and give them a firm footing from which to get a purchase—buttresses loaded with heavy pinnacles whose weight helps them to assimilate the force which attacks them obliquely."

That's one way of putting it, one way of describing how the strong calm and mighty stillness and august serenity of this building is maintained. Equally truly, instead of the language of thrust and combat, one could use the language of support and sacrifice, and speak of the untiring effort of vaults and walls, columns and buttresses to uphold and strengthen each other. Yet whichever way it's put the conclusion is the same—that this great Cathedral is maintained, and has been maintained for centuries, through the interplay and interdependence of contradictory forces, through the unremitting tension of opposites. And can we not say the same of that far greater structure of which this building is a symbol in stone?—the Church of God in Christ Jesus, built (in Paul's words) "upon the foundation laid by the apostles and prophets, and of which Christ Jesus himself is the foundation stone. In him the whole building is bonded together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord. In him you too are being built into a spiritual dwelling for God. . . . Bonded and knit together by every constituent joint the whole frame grows through the due activity of each part, and builds itself up in love".

Now all this could be applied in a number of ways, but let us limit ourselves to one area in which Friends of a Cathedral should be particularly aware of the vital importance of that creative tension of which I have been speaking, that interplay and interdependence of opposites, if this Cathedral, and the Church of Christ of which it is the symbol, are to be maintained.

It is this: we are very well aware of the tremendous debt we owe to the past. And perhaps there are some who think that the overriding purpose of the Friends should be to preserve at all costs and with most faithful accuracy exactly what we have inherited from the past. Well, yes: but that's only one part of your task, and to think it is the whole of your task is to make it absolutely certain that, sooner or later, the Cathedral and all that it stands for will collapse. For over against our debt to the past there is our debt to the future, and we shall not pay that debt merely by preserving the old. We must also have the faith and the courage to attempt what is new.

Of course it is good, even essential, that we should keep our roots in our history—and the more testing the times in which we live the more essential it is to be aware of all that has gone to make us what we are, Canterbury what it is, the Church what it is. Something shrivels in Man when he lives only in the present, when he allows his contacts with the past to wither, when he forgets that he belongs to, and is the product of, a very great deal more than that little bit of time, that little bit of space, that little bit of reality he experiences immediately in the course of his earthly life.

But—and it is a sizeable ‘but’—it is equally vital that man should not allow himself to become *imprisoned by his history*. If one is fortunate enough to live in a town like Canterbury—or Winchester—and if one is fortunate enough to worship in a Cathedral like this and to work under its shadow, then it is hideously simple to become a prisoner of Canterbury’s history, and so become a fossil, even to become proud of being a fossil. But whatever your attachment to the past, to Canterbury’s ancient charms, to those who have gone before you in this place and to the memories you cherish of this place in summers long ago, you must strive and strive and go on striving against the temptation to become prisoners of your history. Rather must you fight with faith and fervour to become makers of Canterbury’s history.

But how does one make history? Not by deliberate intention of becoming a history-maker. Men do not make history—certainly Christians do not make Christian history—by saying to themselves: ‘I will do something memorable so that when I am dead my name will still live’, and then setting about deliberately to produce the necessary exploits, battles, books, bricks, money-bags or whatever. How did those who founded this great church make history? By refusing to be mastered by history, by refusing to be content with things as they were, by refusing to be content with what they inherited, and by having a vision of things as they should be and by expending themselves to realise that vision.

The Christian who is alive in the present must maintain within himself that creative tension between opposites of which we were thinking earlier. He must walk on a razor’s edge between the past and the future. He must remember the past AND he must not forget the future. And if he must topple one side rather than the other, all scripture teaches he should fall for the future. Our Lord Jesus Christ specifically told us to remember two persons—and only two. One was himself: he told us to do certain things with bread and wine in remembrance of him, who in the past, for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven, suffered death upon the cross, rose again and ascended into heaven—whence, in the future, he will come to be our judge. And the other person he told us not to forget? He said: ‘Remember Lot’s wife’—that lady who made the mighty mistake of looking back too much, and through her regret for the passing of the good old days and dear old Sodom became a monumental geological specimen. As Jesus put it with striking force to Mary Magdalene in the garden: ‘Stop clinging to me—but go, tell my brethren that I am risen, and am now ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God’.

## BOOK REVIEW

THE GIFT OF THE SEA (Romney Marsh)

by Anne Roper, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Published by Birlings (Kent), Ashford, Kent, England

Price £8.95

When the Archbishop of Canterbury last year conferred on Miss Anne Roper the Lambeth degree of M.A. there was great satisfaction in many parts of the County of Kent and especially in the whole area of Romney Marsh where Miss Roper has lived for much more than half a century and to whose history and antiquities she has devoted a lifetime of study. Now as if in celebration of this most happy recognition of the work of a great and devoted churchwoman Miss Roper has written and published a delightful book on the Marsh called *The Gift of the Sea* dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Illustrated with many photographs, both black and white and coloured, the book deals with every aspect of the history of the Marsh, each village being examined in turn with some account of its church and the village itself—there are chapters on the Marsh in literature, and the Cinque Ports, the Lord of the Marsh and its charters. A fascinating chapter deals with smugglers and for good measure there is a series of extracts from the diary of Thomas Miller, an eighteenth century schoolmaster, which gives an intimate glimpse into the life of this unique part of England two-and-a-half centuries ago. For those who know and love East Kent this book is a 'Must' and for those who do not as yet know the Marsh it should be a stimulating and inviting call to make its acquaintance without delay. I can imagine nothing pleasanter than driving, cycling, or walking around the villages of Romney Marsh with this book at hand, unless it be traversing the whole district in the company of Miss Roper herself as I first did on an unforgettable May afternoon more than thirty years ago.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.



The Young Friends outside Lain Cathedral, Palm Sunday, 1984

## NOTES AND NEWS

### THE YOUNG FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL 1984/1985 PROGRAMME

- April, 1984      The Young Friends visit to Rheims in April, 1984 was a great success, thanks to Canon Ingram Hill who was our guide.
- July 14th, 1984    The Young Friends barbecue at Dene House.
- September 3rd, 1984    Miss Anne Roper gave us a splendid tour of three Romney Marsh Churches, Old Romney, Fairfield and Brookland.
- December 22nd, 1984    Carol Singing.  
                        David Flood conducted a large group of the Young Friends who sang carols in The Precincts, raising £40 for Alexander De Waal's Leprosy Project, this was followed by a party, in Theodore.
- March 2nd, 1985     Tim Tatton-Brown conducted the Young Friends on a tour of the ruins of St. Augustines Abbey.
- March 30th, 1985     Mr. Brazier showed the Young Friends the vestments of Canterbury Cathedral.
- April 12th-13th-14th 1985    The Young Friends will visit Rouen in a party of 40-45, with Canon Ingram Hill as our guide.
- The Young Friends of Canterbury Cathedral would like to thank all those who made these trips possible.

KATHERINE EADY.

### “Rex Vivus”

On Saturday 26th, October, 1985, the earliest English Morality Play, c. 1400 will be performed in the Cathedral by “The Elizabethans” a Hertfordshire Company of players, instrumentalists, singers and dancers. Music from 13th to the 15th Century is performed on instruments of the period.

In order to reduce costs we should like to find private accommodation for “The Elizabethans”. Anyone interested please contact The Friends Office.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE  
NUMBER 79 APRIL 1985

Published by The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral,  
11b The Precincts, Canterbury. Telephone 62806.

Printed by The Canterbury Printers Ltd.,  
Hall Place, Harbledown, Canterbury



# INTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE

**1986**



1986

The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral

Please join  
**TODAY**  
and help us, help  
you, to continue  
the enjoyment of  
our Heritage

## **FRIENDS**

Pass this enrolment form to a friend and help double the membership in 1985

Minimum Subscription £3.00

Minimum Overseas Subscription £5.00 or \$10 (U.S.)

### *Membership Application Form*

Return to—The Friends Office,  
11 The Precincts,  
Canterbury,  
Kent CT1 2EE

I/We wish to be enrolled a Member(s) of THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

Enclosed is a cheque/cash for £/\$ ..... being the first of the annual subscriptions.

I/We intend to pay.  
(Alternatively complete the Banker's Order form).

Name: .....

Address: .....

.....  
Signature: .....

Date: .....

## DEED OF COVENANT

.....  
f.....  
.....  
.....

ereby Covenant with The Friends of  
Canterbury Cathedral that for a period  
of four years from

..... day of .....

9.... or during my life, whichever period  
shall be shorter, I will pay annually to the  
said Friends such a sum as will, after  
reduction of Income Tax at the basic  
rate for the time being in force, leave in  
the hands of The Friends a sum which

will amount to £ .....  
*insert here the sum to be covenanted*  
such a sum to be paid from my general  
fund of taxed income, so that I shall  
receive no personal or private benefit of  
the said periods from the said sum or any  
part thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set  
my hand and seal this .....

ay of ..... 19 .....

igned: .....

Witnessed by: .....

Witness Occupation: .....

Witness Address: .....

## BANKER'S ORDER

To be addressed to Members' own Bank,  
but returned in the first place to The  
Friends Office.

To: (*Bank*) .....

.....  
Address: .....

On: (*Date*) .....

please pay the sum of £ .....

(*words*) .....

To:  
Lloyds Bank PLC,  
50 High Street,  
Canterbury, Kent.  
Sorting No. 30-91-60.

For the credit of The Friends of  
Canterbury Cathedral, Account No.  
0306775, and thereafter make like  
payments

ANNUALLY on the .....

day of .....

..... until further notice.

Signature: .....

Name: (*printed*) .....

.....  
Account No. ....

Date: .....



# THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

*First Friend on the Roll:*  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

*Royal Patron:*  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER

*President:*  
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, P.C., D.D.

*Patrons:*  
THE LORD RAMSEY OF CANTERBURY, D.D.  
HENRY MOORE, ESQ., O.M., C.H., F.B.A., A.R.I.B.A.  
THE LORD COGGAN OF CANTERBURY AND SISSINGHURST, D.D.

*Chairman of the Council:*  
THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY

*Steward:* CHARLES BARKER, M.C.      *Treasurer:* JAMES HYDE, ESQ.

*Members of the Council:*

Brig N. A. Atherton	Sir Dawnay Lemon, C.B.E., Q.P.M.
Dr. S. Bann	John Nicholas, Esq.
Canon P. Brett (Vice-Chairman)	Paul Pollak, Esq.
The Mayor of Canterbury	The Revd. Canon J. de Saussmarez
Mrs. Nancy Clifford	Reg Steel, Esq.
Derek Crabtree, Esq.	Mrs. M. Scott-Knight
The Revd. Canon D. Ingram Hill, D.D., F.S.A.	T. Tatton-Brown, Esq.
Ian Haines, Esq.	Dr. Allan Wicks, F.R.C.O., D.MUS.
The Rt. Revd. H. Isherwood	Dr. Francis Woodman
David Kemp, Esq.	The Rt. Hon. Lord Swinfen
Robin Leigh-Pemberton, Esq.	

The 'colour' on our front cover has been made possible by donations in memory of Friends:

Dr. I. B. Morris

Miss D. Stead

Major J. E. Vaughan

whose deaths are recorded in this issue.

Christmas and plain cards depicting a detail of the Icon of the Annunciation as shown on the front cover are available from the Friends Office.

20p each	plus postage and packing
1-25 cards	p. & p. 50p extra
26-100 cards	p. & p. £1.00 extra

# THE CHRONICLE 1986

Published by the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral

NUMBER 80

APRIL 1986

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	5
FORTHCOMING PUBLICATION	5
PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS	6
DEATHS OF FRIENDS	8
OBITUARY	9
THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMAGES	9
STEWARD'S REPORT	10
THE YOUNG FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL	11
THE ICON OF THE ANNUNCIATION IN ST. GABRIEL'S CHAPEL	13
A MESSAGE FROM CHEVETOGNE	15
THE MYSTERIES AT CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, 1986 BY KENNETH PICKERING	15
THREE ORGAN CASES AT CANTERBURY BY ROBERT LLOYD	17
SPRING CLEANING AT CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL BY NAOMI LINNELL	18
A LINK WITH LIMBURG BY CHARLES ROBINSON	21
THE CANTERBURY BELL BY TEMPEST HAY	24
ST. ANDREW'S CHAPEL	26
MINTING AT CANTERBURY BY ROGER DALTON	30
THE LOST ARUNDEL TOWER BY PETER MARSH	34



## EDITORIAL

As this Chronicle goes to press the news of the resignation of Dr. Victor de Waal from the Deanery comes to hand and this seems an appropriate place to pay a tribute to him in his capacity as Chairman of the Council of the Friends.

For ten years he has presided over the meetings of the Council several times a year, and displayed both firmness in his official seat on these occasions and a gift for making imaginative and artistic suggestions for the adornment and beautification of the Cathedral. For many reasons the last decade has been of exceptional importance in the life of the Cathedral for it has seen the first Lambeth Conference to be held in Canterbury (based on the University of Kent, 1978), the great Monastic Festival that summer when the Cathedral welcomed Cardinal Basil Hume and many abbots and monks and nuns from convents all over Europe, the enthronement of Archbishop Runcie, 1980, and the historic visit of Pope John Paul II to Canterbury in May 1982. On all these occasions Dr. and Mrs. De Waal played an important part and the services in the Cathedral were carried out to everyone's delight with immense dignity and beauty of music and word.

The same decade has seen the great growth in the number of American Friends, and spectacular progress in the work of restoration of the fabric and glass, as well as the restoration of wall paintings, and the purchase of fourteen new bells for the S.W. tower, several of them given by the Friends, after the completion of the restoration of the Cloister bays in 1979 (a work of many years largely funded by the Friends).

We should like to record here our good wishes to Victor and Esther de Waal as they leave us for fresh pastures, while we look forward to the appointment of a new Dean (and Chairman of Council) with much prayer and natural expectation.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

## FORTHCOMING PUBLICATION

Older readers may remember that between the Wars the publishing firm of Bell produced some admirable guides to all the Cathedrals of England. These have long been out of print. Now the firm of Bell and Hyman are producing a new series beginning with Canterbury, York, Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. Canon Derek Ingram Hill was commissioned nearly two years ago to write the volume on Canterbury and this will be published on June 19th next. The text will run to some 50,000 words and there will be one hundred photographs in black and white specially taken by two accomplished photographers, Peter Burton and Harland Walshaw. There will be chapters on the history, the interior and exterior of the Cathedral's architecture, the tombs and monuments, the stained glass, the ornaments, furniture and fittings, the paintings, plate, and books.

Price £5.95 paper back and £9.95 hard back.

## PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

For a number of years the Cathedral Chapter has been puzzling over the best way to furnish several areas of the building which have never recovered from the destructive depredations of the Reformation period.

Now at last some solutions to these problems are beginning to be found one by one. Our photographs in this issue (taken by Mr. Ian Haines) will be of interest to our readers in this connection.

One shows the reordered Martyrdom transept, the concept of Mr. Giles Blomfield the well-known architect, who has been inspired by the altar of the Sword's Point which stood here until the year 1538 and is still commemorated by a carving over the South West Porch (which gives some idea of what it looked like). Mr. Blomfield's conception consists of a small cube altar like that which one of our thirteenth century windows in the Trinity Chapel shows as being at the west end of the Shrine of St. Thomas, while above the altar on the transept wall hangs a jagged cross of bronze with a sword hanging on each side. In front of the altar the name "Thomas" is carved on the floor in red lettering and a handsome tablet, the work of David Kindersley (who carved the tablet to Dr. Urry in the Cloisters) records the visit of Pope John Paul II in 1982 to pray on this spot. The cost of this work has been borne by the Friends.

Another project to be considered by the Council of the Friends and the Cathedral Chapter is the restoration of a statue of Our Lord Christ to fill the vacant niche over the Christ Church Gate. The destruction of the great statue, which stood there from early Tudor times until 1642 when it was wantonly destroyed by the Puritan fanatics, has left a gaping hole for four and a half centuries, and some twenty years or so ago those great Friends, the Revd. John and Mrs. Mary Bouquet, offered money for this purpose but at the time no sculptor who could produce something worthy of this commission seemed to be available. The success of the venture at Wells Cathedral in filling the niche at the summit of the West front with a noble figure of Christ suggests that perhaps the time is ripe for looking at this area afresh and we must hope and pray that this problem may be overcome satisfactorily.

Elsewhere in this number is a description of the icon (illustrated on our cover) which now hangs on the wall of St. Gabriel's Chapel in the Crypt. This is a memorial to Dean Hewlett Johnson and his wife Noel and for many years the Chapter have been trying to find someone who could execute this commission. In 1984 a group of monks from the Benedictine Abbey of Chevetogne in Belgium came to spend a few days at the Cathedral and as a parting gift left behind the icon of St. Gregory and St. Augustine which now hangs in St. Gregory's Chapel, the work of Brother Luke a gifted icon painter. He was at once commissioned to paint the much desired icon of the Annunciation and this was brought over by a group from Chevtogne and dedicated last July 7th after Evensong. A description of the icon and a message from the monks on their return to Belgium will be found elsewhere in this Chronicle.

D. INGRAM HILL.



*The Altar of the Swords Point in the Martyrdom*

## DEATHS OF FRIENDS

*Recorded with reverence and honour following notification received between March 1985 and February 1986.*

Allfree Mr. P. F.	More, Mr. G. R. H. (B)
Bartlett, Miss D. V.	Morley, Mrs. R. E.
Boag, Mr. J.	Morris, Dr. I. B. (D)
Bouquet, Mrs. S. M.	Morse, Mr. A. J.
Chandler, Mrs. H.	Mortimer, Mr. A. J. W. (C.C.T.)
Coote, Mrs. D. G. M.	Newman, Mrs. D. L.
Chappell, Mr. E. W.	Nichols, Mr. O. B.
Churchill, Miss A. J.	Noakes, Miss C. M.
Elliott, Mr. A. V. P.	Parr, Mr. M. W.
Empson, Lady M.	Pilcher, Miss J. M.
Field, Miss M. E. Cary	Pittock, Miss M.
Field, Miss R. M. Cary	Poole, Mr. G. W.
Forge, Mr. J. W. Lindus	Ramsey, Miss D. C.
Good, Miss J. P.	Raymond, Mrs. V.
Grant, Miss M. E.	Reynolds, Mrs. V. C.
Greenstreet, Miss M.	Sanders, Mr. E. H.
Greenwood, Dr. D. C. (C.C.T.)	Scott, Miss E. M. (D)
Hall, Miss M.	Spencer, Mrs. E. A.
Hastings, Mrs. H.	Stanley, Mrs. E. E.
Hewett, Mr. A.	Stead, Miss D. (D)
Hoare, Mrs. D. E. E.	Stevens, Mrs. E. M.
Inge, Miss D. K. M.	Taylor, Mr. A. Clifton-
James, Mrs. N. C.	Thomas, Miss M. P.
Judd, Colonel J. L.	Thomas, Mrs. W. D. (C.C.T.)
Kaye, Miss E. J.	Thomason, F. J.
Killby, Mr. G. C.	Tower, Miss W.
Killick, Mrs. E. S. I.	Turner, Mr. J.
Knight, Mrs. B.	Tyrie, Mrs. M.
Loveday, The Rt. Revd. D. G.	Vaughan, Major J. E. (D)
Manley, Miss A.	Voegli, The Revd. C. A. (C.C.T.)
Mawson, Miss M. I.	Waugh, Mr. G.
McCarthy, Mr. A. F.	Wilton, Mr. J. B.

(B)—Bequest.

(D)—Donation in memory.

(C.C.T.)—Canterbury Cathedral Trust in America.

## OBITUARY

### MISS MIMOSA MAWSON

A little-known but devoted member of the Friends died suddenly in London on 15th February, 1986. She was Miss Mimosa Mawson, the benefactress behind the provision of the small framed tablet to the memory of Dean "Dick" Sheppard opposite his memorial window in the Cloisters.

Mimosa ("Mo") Mawson had one hero above all in her life—she was a devotee of Dick Sheppard from the time when he was Vicar of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, and after his short-lived appointment as Dean of Canterbury she divided her loves between Canterbury Cathedral and St. Martin's, eventually becoming Archivist of the famous London church—a post which she held at the time of her death.

She was very anxious that visitors to the Cathedral should become more aware of the late Dick Sheppard and all he stood for, and it was her idea to encapsulate his achievements in the form of the tablet, which is a special focus of attention for all who come from St. Martin's or who remember the late Dean and his work for pacifism long before the nuclear age.

Mo's last visit to Canterbury was on the last anniversary of Dick's death, 31st October, 1985 when she placed a simple posy on his grave in the Cloisters.

### THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMAGES

The King's School is again opening its doors—and for the eighth year—to enthusiasts who wish to know more about the treasures of Canterbury. These modern Pilgrimages take place in August, and a team of expert lecturers and guides has been enlisted to tell guests about the history of the cathedral and city. Accommodation is in single and twin rooms opposite the cathedral, breakfast and evening dinner are served in the 13th century refectory, and a coach tour includes the delightful little Norman church at Barfreston and the ancient port of Canterbury at Fordwich. The five-day tours will be starting on July 28th, August 4th, 11th and 18th. The inclusive charge is £146. Full details can be obtained from The King's School, Canterbury, CT1 2ES.

## STEWARD'S REPORT

The announcement in January of the Dean's resignation has saddened us all.

Little did we know when at his instigation the reading of T. S. Eliot's *The Four Quartets* was arranged in the Chapter House last November that this would be the last of his many successes in bringing the arts to the Cathedral.

On July 20th, Friends Day, we look forward to welcoming twenty of our American Friends on a Benedictine Pilgrimage to Canterbury and Bec.

In October I look forward to visiting the American Trust in Washington.

This year there will be no play after tea on Friends Day. The Actors are all too busy learning their parts for the 'Mystery Plays' commencing on July 30th in the Cathedral. Luckily we shall have an opportunity to hear Ian Haines talk on 'The Mystery of Canterbury Cathedral'. This will probably take place in the Crypt. Seating will be limited.

The Cathedral lacks a proper projection area to accommodate our numbers.

In an attempt to satisfy your palates we are trying new caterers on Friends Day. Fill in your order form now so as not to be disappointed.

The Cathedral Open Evening this year will be on 25th September from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. Why not come and bring a new friend to see the glories of the Cathedral.

The Martyrdom Chapel is to be rededicated on 29th March. The design reiterates the relevance of martyrdom in our own time and has been financed by The Friends.

Now that Cathedral House has been completed with a grant from The Friends, the new staircase, in English Oak, is a monument to the work of our craftsmen which you must be sure to see.

We are working on plans to replace the missing statue of Christ at the Christ Church Gateway. This is to be our main project for 1987, our Jubilee Year of which more anon.

In November, Mr. John Nicholas retired as Treasurer of The Friends. We welcome Mr. James Hyde who has been appointed to succeed him. We still have the benefit of John's advice as a member of the Council.

My thanks to all those who help the Friends with their work. This has been a sad year for us. Too many have passed over to the other side.

VALE

CHARLES BARKER.



Mrs. D. M. Miller of 118—14th Avenue, Tanranga, Bay of Plenty, New Zealand, asks any other New Zealand Friends of Canterbury Cathedral to contact her.

# THE YOUNG FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

## 1985/1986 PROGRAMME

- April 1985              Our visit to Rouen, Bayeux and Bec-Hellouin was a memorable one and we are indebted to Canon D. Ingram Hill—our guide.
- May/June              Two interesting visits to the Cathedral Library. We were made welcome by Miss A. Oakley and Mrs. N. Linnell.
- 22nd June              30 Young Friends took part in the Canterbury Christian Council Barbecue at the Water Tower Garden.
- August              Young Friends entertained ARC students to a barbecue.
- 3rd September              Visit to St. Albans Cathedral. Archaeological finds were shown to us by Mrs. Helen Paterson.
- 21st September              47 Young Friends had a barbecue at Dene House.
- 23rd November              Mrs. H. Paterson gave an illustrated talk on "Pilgrimage from Southampton to Canterbury".
- 23rd December              Carol Singing by 57 Young Friends in the Precincts raised £45.00 for the Child Victims of the Colombian disaster.
- 3rd January              Mrs. J. Lennox gave us a talk on the Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral.
- 4th, 5th, 6th April              Visit to Chartres by the Young Friends.

We would like to thank all those who made these talks, visits, etc., possible, especially Mlle. Laurence Bigand (a French Young Friend) without whose invaluable assistance our weekends in France would not be possible.

PATRICIA A. SWINFEN.



## THE ICON OF THE ANNUNCIATION IN ST. GABRIEL'S CHAPEL

The arms of Christchurch Cathedral, with the first letters of 'Jesus Christ' in Greek on a cross, are linked in the opposite corner with the seal of the Monastery of the Holy Cross at Chevetogne. A Latin and a Byzantine bishop bow down on either side of the Holy Cross as a sign of the unity of Christ's one Church. The Benedictine Monastery at Chevetogne in Belgium was founded to foster all possible ways of rendering this unity more visible.

The Archangel Gabriel, full of admiration and wonder before the frail human vessel of the Virgin Mary, announces to her that she will bear God Incarnate. The Virgin, young and childlike, looks out at the spectator in her simple acceptance. Already over her heart the sign of the Incarnate Word is seen. The position of the child and the gesture of his hands echo the position and gesture of the Divine Word enthroned in the tree of life beyond time and space, one with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

The setting reminds us of the Garden of Eden, with the tree of life at its centre. At its foot the hexagonal fountain represents the waters of everlasting life, which begin to flow in the gift of Incarnation and Salvation, chiefly from the side of the Crucified Christ and in the water and wine of the Eucharist. The water in the fountain is therefore also a symbol of Christ himself and also of the rivers of living water which will flow out of the heart of the believer (John 7, 38).

The fountain is in clear relationship with the tree of life (a symbol of the Cross) and the fountain-head reflects the form of the Cross—"And he shall be like a tree planted by the water side that will bring forth his fruit in due season" (Psalm 1, 3). The fruit seen on the tree of life, like the manna which fed the children of Israel in the desert, is superceded as 'life-giving' food by the Incarnate Word himself, who descends from the summit of the tree into the womb of the Virgin Mary. This flesh will become our life-giving food in the gift of the Holy Eucharist (John 6). As the fruit hangs on the tree of life, Our Lord hung on the Cross. The tree of life therefore also symbolises the Cross. This symbolism is developed in the Legend of the True Cross (with well-known representations by Piero della Francesca). When expelled from the Garden of Eden, Adam took a seed from the tree of life. This was buried with him and grew into a tree from which was eventually made the Cross of Calvary. Other traditions assert with similar symbolic language that the Cross was erected on the very spot of Adam's grave.

The serpent nailed to the trunk of the tree of life is a symbol of the kind which unites contradictory significations ("complexio oppositorum"—a difficult and controversial aspect of religious symbolism for Christianity). On the other hand it represents the old Enemy and Tempter from the Garden of Eden, finally prevented from success in evil enterprises by the Incarnation and its sequel the Crucifixion. On the other hand, the nailed serpent reminds us of the serpent of Moses, which healed the children of Israel's snake-bites, and which Our Lord himself takes as an analogy or 'type' of his own saving act of crucifixion (John 3, 14). Through the link between the Cross and the tree of life, the nailed serpent therefore comes also to symbolise Christ himself.

To resume so far—Christ is portrayed twice as ‘anthropos’ (*i.e.*, in human form), once in theriomorphic form (serpent), once as fruit and once as water.

The garden surrounding the tree of life, full of flowers, symbolises the restoration of Paradise for mankind, and the praise and joy of all creation at the incarnation. Amongst the flowers are a number of lilies, a flower particularly associated with the Virgin Mary.

At the presentation of the child Jesus in the temple, Mary and Joseph offered two turtle-doves. These have been seen as symbolising the Old and New Testaments. At the feet of the Virgin one turtle-dove symbolises the New Testament and the relationship of love between Mary and her Lord.

The red and gold pattern on the back of the Virgin’s throne evokes the tongues of fire of the Holy Spirit and especially the burning-bush in which God manifested himself to Moses. This was a familiar symbol in early times for the Mother of God, burned like the bush with the presence of the Divinity, but not consumed.

Sun and Moon shed their light on the scene and, as they accentuate the division of the panel into two halves, masculine and feminine (lending a certain masculinity to the Archangel), the two main figures also come to evoke Adam and Eve, old and new, as a harmonic of the primary symbolism.

The icon is constructed on a (invisible) geometrical framework comprising a six-pointed star and enclosing circle. The star fills most of the panel, from below, with a margin above. The enclosing circle extends beyond the panel on left and right, but cuts across the upper half and Sun and Moon are situated on its arc.

The six-pointed star is made from two super-imposed equilateral triangles, symbolising the union of opposites—water and fire, night and day, masculine and feminine, etc.—and in more specifically Christian terms the unity of heaven and earth in the Incarnation and the two natures of Christ.

The hexagonal form of the fountain, deriving from this geometry, is inserted in it and is the only visible reference to it. The circle is, of course, a symbol of wholeness, but by making it larger than the panel (*i.e.*, still transcendent) the artist sought to avoid the feeling of ‘dead-ended’ wholeness.

The green rectangle of the garden coincides along its upper edge with the base of the superior triangle, as the movement downwards from the divine throne to the sign of the Christ-child follows its right side from the apex.

Several varieties of blue were used in an attempt to refer to the striking blue to be found in the wall-paintings, together with much gold-leaf, always useful in harmonising delicate cross-references or contrasts. The ancients never thought of gold as having a ‘colour’ (even though its colour can, in fact, range from green through yellow to red, according to its source). They considered it to be pure ‘uncreated’ light.

## A MESSAGE FROM CHEVETOGNE

As our stay in Canterbury comes to an end, we are full of much thankfulness to the Lord, and to our friends in this place, for these days passed in prayer and fellowship with the clergy and the people of the Anglican Church.

This year we celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of our monastery of Chevetogne. The birth of Chevetogne was profoundly marked by the Conversations of Malines involving Lord Halifax of the Church of England and Cardinal Mercier of Belgium.

With great emotion we remember that the first ecumenical step of Father Lambert Beauduin, founder of Chevetogne, was to write his prophetic contribution to the Anglican and Roman Catholic unity: "l'Eglise anglicane, unie mais non absorbee" (the Anglican Church, united but not absorbed).

It is for us a great joy that we have been able to celebrate something of this anniversary at the heart of the spiritual life of this cathedral.

In this unique place we have been able to rejoice with all those who lived here, in the search of the Lord in the monastic life of the past—with all our common forefathers, in the faith of Christ, and knowing that we share together our roots in the heavenly Jerusalem.

A second element of our way towards Christian unity in Chevetogne is the desire to share the spiritual tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Church through our liturgical worship and so to be a witness to the unity of all Christians.

From the tradition of the Orthodox Church we are glad to bring this Icon of the Annunciation—painted by our Brother Luke—which we hope will be a sign of our continuing prayer for this place, a sign of the links between Chevetogne and Canterbury and of our common intercession for the unity of all Christian people in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that we hope to announce undivided to the coming millenium.

## THE MYSTERIES AT CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, 1986

A newly adapted cycle of Mystery Plays, tracing God's purpose for men from the Creation to the Resurrection, will be presented in the Cathedral from 30th July to 13th August, 1986. To see the entire cycle will require attendance on two evenings and the audience will circulate between Nave, Crypt, Cloisters and Chapter House, gathering round the action and sharing in a unique theatrical experience.

In a number of remarkable ways this innovative production, involving hundreds of the people of Canterbury, continues the tradition of drama in the Cathedral established by George Bell in the 1920's. It is, firstly, an act of co-operation between the Dean and Chapter, the professional and the amateur theatre. Encouraged by Dean de Waal, Channel Theatre Company, under their artistic director Kevin Wood and associate

director Philip Dart, have undertaken to mount the production. In recent years Channel, based at the Granville Theatre in Ramsgate, have emerged as one of Britain's finest professional companies with a nationwide reputation for their successful tours. They have engaged the famous classical actor Marius Goring, appropriately trained at the Old Vic by one of the great Canterbury actors of the 30's, Harcourt Williams, to play the leading role. However, the bulk of the acting parts will be taken by local amateurs under the guidance of professional directors. Just as George Bell turned to Holst for the music, the new score for the *Mysteries* has been commissioned from a leading contemporary composer, Keith Cole, whose compositions extend into the 'rock' as well as the classical idiom; yet, as with every other detail of this production, the music will help to recreate the atmosphere of Medieval England.

Another exciting extention of the Canterbury tradition is the publication of the play text by Churchman Publishing Ltd., a new, dynamic company already making a mark in the field of religious and academic books. The text is being prepared by a team of writers using all the extant Medieval plays as sources. Infuriatingly, the Canterbury Cycle, if there ever was one, has disappeared but it is clear from the surviving sources that the Medieval playwrights themselves borrowed liberally from each other; we shall do the same.

What, then, is new about this enterprise? Quite literally new is the Kent Reliance Building Society who, formed by the amalgamation of two older societies, are celebrating their genesis by providing the major financial sponsorship. The *Mysteries* will also continue to be the subject of broadcasts by our two local radio stations and of a documentary by T.V.S. Other local tradespeople will be acting as patrons to assist in the enormous expense of the production. This particular cycle is new also. Audiences familiar with the National Theatre's production will find not only many different plays but also that the whole concept has been built around the fact of performance in the Cathedral's truly wonderful but equally taxing setting. Never before will so many spaces inside the great building have been used for a single production and although it is at least four hundred years since the *Mystery Plays* were a regular feature of the life of Medieval towns, I rather doubt if anything quite so ambitious was attempted in the past.

Helga Wood, who came to Channel after being Head of Design at Alan Ayckbourn's Scarborough Theatre, will be designing the large number of new costumes but a similarly large band of volunteer needle-people will make them; marketing and administration of the entire project have already engaged local artists and the Channel Theatre's expert team.

In the most important sense, the truths the *Mysteries* celebrate are always new and the organisers are confident that audiences will go out renewed from their experience—an experience that should not be missed.

KENNETH PICKERING.

## THREE ORGAN CASES AT CANTERBURY

We begin with the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660. The Cathedral organ had been broken down by the Commonwealth troops under Colonel Sandys in 1642, and now, as part of life returning to the Cathedral, the Chapter agreed on the 12th July, 1662 with Lancelott Pease for the erection of a new organ at a cost of £600. Pease was also to keep such parts of the old organ as remained, and would be paid £50 more should the new organ prove satisfactory.

This instrument was enclosed in a most beautiful decorated case designed by George Woodruffe and occupied the space under the second arch counting from the West on the north side of the Quire. It consisted of three towers of pipes, the central one taller than those at the end, seven pipes to each tower. A curved row of thirteen pipes on each side joined the central and side towers, a small tower of five pipes being in the middle of each curve. A trumpeting angel stood on the top of every tower, with two more angels, reclining and trumpeting at the base of the central tower. Below all this and jutting out behind the player's back stood the Choir Organ, narrower, a small tower (seven pipes) at each end. Twenty-five pipes crossed the central section, over the middle of which stood the Royal Arms. A crown and a cymbal-playing angel stood over the towers, a large cherub's head with wings outstretched covered the lowest panel. The woodwork throughout was decorated with floral designs. A good impression of the case is given in the painting of the Quire attributed to Peter Neefs, c. 1680 and now in Cathedral House.

After housing not only the Pease organ but several rebuilds (Father Smith 1684-85, John Knopple 1713, Richard Bridge 1752) this case was wantonly destroyed in 1784. This was the year in which Samuel Green built a new organ, which on its way to Canterbury was temporarily erected at the West end of the nave of Westminster Abbey for the Handel Festival of that year (the 25th anniversary of the composer's death). On arrival at the Cathedral the organ was erected on the screen in a hideous and heavy case, typical of the period. It was "opened" on 8th July, 1784 by Dr. Phillip Hayes of Magdalen College, Oxford (said to be the most corpulent man in England, a good companion for the case!) What was really needed was the *first* case in the position of the *second*. As it was, this Georgian monster dominated its surroundings for its brief life of 43 years. The lofty pinnacles which surmounted the case were cut off in 1825, but even so it was declared an obstruction and all was removed to the south triforium in 1827.

The Choir Organ case and contents were taken to St. Andrew's Church in the City, and remained there until the building was pulled down in 1937.

The third case never in fact existed. The Quire having been reseated (it was closed for most of 1879 and services were held in the Chapter House), the matter of a new organ was taken up. J. Oldrid Scott in 1884

produced a design for a case, which typically Victorian in character, would have hung like a swallow's nest over two bays of the south quire aisle. The scheme was rejected by the Chapter, and when Henry Willis' new organ (built incorporating parts of the old) was opened by Sir John Stainer on 30th July, 1886, the whole instrument was still in the triforium. How the organ was to be heard properly over the whole Cathedral remained a problem until 1979, when Noel Mander re-arranged the pipes and created a much needed section in the nave.

ROBERT LLOYD.

## SPRING CLEANING AT CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

In the Spring of 1660 the servants swept and cleared and scoured and polished the Palace of Whitehall in London to make it a place fit for the new returned King Charles II. The King entered his capital on 29th May, and was welcomed at Westminster Abbey by the Bishops of Chichester, Salisbury, Ely and Rochester. In Canterbury, Canons Casaubon, Paske, Belk and Peter du Moulin, the Treasurer, made ready to receive the new Dean Thomas Turner and to restore to decent order the services and fabric of the great Cathedral and its Precincts, plundered, broken and abandoned during the Civil War and Commonwealth.

The Treasurer's Book for 1660 to 1661 records the renewing of the life of Canterbury Cathedral. A staff was engaged and Stipends paid—to the Dean and the Prebends, to the Six Preachers and the Minor Canons, to the Lay Clerks, the Choristers and the Master of the Choristers, to the school master and the children of the Grammar School. These last had endured throughout the Commonwealth period, but five of the twenty-one boys were unable to write their names in receipt in the Treasurer's Book for the Dean and Chapter's quarterly payment of £2. Stipends were paid to five poor men—who became twelve in 1661, to the Virgers, the Vesturers, the Janitors and the Porters of the North and South Gates. The Precentor, the Sacrist, the Organist, the Clock keeper, the Organ-blower, the Auditor, the Woodreve, the Campanarum pulsatores (the bell ringers) and the Tibicines (the wind players) all signed or made their marks in the Treasurer's Book. On the feast of St. John the Baptist in June 1661 a special payment was made to the Tibicines:

And to each of them twenty shillings a piece given by decree to their surplices £4-0-0.

The renewed order and decency of worship had to be seen as well as to be heard.

The Church was itself refurbished. Payments to the Sacrist, whose department this was, included:

For Margery's Midsummer quarter for sweeping the Church.....	£0- 6-0
---	---------

For damask linnen for two table cloths for the Communion table.....	£4- 10-0
Payd Mr. John Tresser for 4 yards of dyded purple carsey at 4sh a yard for the communion stooles.....	£0- 16-0
For 12 wooden candlesticks for the Quire .....	£0- 4-0
For Easter communion in wine & bread .....	£0-10-0

And so the Choir of the Cathedral was furnished again and the preaching services of the commonwealth Sermon House returned to the Anglican liturgy in the Choir.

The great houses of the canons had been neglected and abused. A huge clean-up operation had to be undertaken. Among the payments recorded for 1662 are:

To John Browne towards his wages for removing rubbish from Mr. Deanes house .....	£0- 4-0
For two carts that carried 80 loads of that rubbish at 4d a load payd to Tho. Wilkins.....	£1-11-0
To widow Flaxman for the use of her cart to carry rubbish.....	£0-10-0
To the same for the like work .....	£2- 2-0

The Dean's problems were so bad that an extra cart had had to be hired, but what about the rest of the canons? It would seem that they had to arrange their own removal of the years' accumulated rubbish.

Also there are notes of building materials bought by the Chapter. Canterbury Puritans had had literally a smashing time in the Cathedral and there must have been a great deal of repair work to be done. The Treasurer's clerk noted payments to plumber, to pavers, to stone-masons, and to sawyers. The Treasurer paid out for:

10 Dayes that Edward Dale wrought about the Gate.

He paid for new bell ropes and new bell cradles, for scales for the plummer and for £2-5-0 for 2,700 lead nailes.

Outside the houses and the Church there was more work to be done. The Puritans had attacked sport as a source of unnecessary conflict between individuals, a negation of the doctrine which claimed the changelessness of all life preordained by God, and as an opportunity for gambling which was a sin against the God who had already decided all matters of so-called chance. For these reasons, or simply because of neglect and decay, the chapter had lost its bowling green. this was restored very soon.

Oct 16 (1661) For carrying 5 loades of turfe at 4sh a load for the bowling greene .....	£1- 0-6
Oct 26 For carrying 8 loades of green turfes .....	£1-12-0
Nov 11 More for carrying of turves .....	£2- 8-0
Oct 14 To workmen about the bowling greene .....	£1- 0-4
Oct 21 More for the same worke .....	£2- 7-8

and

Nov 7 For the same worke againe..... £1- 8-4

The grand total for turf and labour was £9-16-10, as much as a poor man could earn in a year.

The renewing of the Cathedral, its fabric, its worship and its ministry included also the donation again of alms to the poor. The Eleemosynae, Canterbury Cathedral's payments to the sick, the distressed, the unemployed, widows and orphans are carefully recorded in the Treasurer's Book:

To two women whose husbands were taken by the pirates ... £0-	2-6
To a poor woman to bury her child.....	£0- 2-0
To the man that keepes the girle charged upon us .....	£0- 2-0
To the same more by Mr Vicedeanes's advice .....	£0- 8-0
To Elizabeth Kendall a sickwoman a 100 yeares old .....	£0- 2-0
To two soildiers coming out of France with a passe .....	£0- 1-0
To a couple of travellers that had a passe.....	£0- 1-0
Given for the keeping of a poor girl Dorcas Cater by order of the D & Chapter. To John Brasham .....	£4-10-0
To goodwife French that keepes the poor girle Dorcas Cater given by Mr Deane's appointment .....	£0- 2-6
Ditto .....	£0- 9-0
Ditto .....	£0- 2-6
To helpe release John Shepherd out of prison .....	£0- 2-0
To a sick girl going to London to be cured .....	£0- 1-0
.... for the keeping of Dorcas Cater.....	£0- 9-0
To a poor woman with many children.....	£0- 1-0
For smocks and necessaries for Dorcas Cater .....	£0- 6-0
For her schooling .....	£0- 2-6
To Thomas Lee impotent of both his legs.....	£0- 1-0
To a Canon of Rochel converted to the Protestant Religion by order of the D & C.....	£2-10-0
To two Irish scholars .....	£0- 2-6
To a Hungarian .....	£0- 1-0
To a Londoner wounded & robbed in France by the enemies of our Religion, certified by the Ministers of Rouen .....	£0- 2-0
... for keeping Dorcas Cater 8 weeks at 2sh. 6d a weeke ...	£1- 0-0
To a soildier with a passe from the Govern of Dover .....	£0- 0-6
Given towards the redeeming of captives in Turky .....	£0- 2-0
To a decayed Gentleman .....	£0- 1-0

Whose orphan Dorcas Cater was, we do not know. A few years later she died and the Dean and Chapter fulfilled their obligation and paid for her funeral. The poor and soldiers with "certificates" and "passes" link the Cathedral into the official hand out system administered by the magistrates.

These brief entries shew very clearly the other side of the royal triumph and the ecclesiastical renewal of 1660. Reformation, civil war and the Commonwealth had left terrible casualties both for soldiers and civilians. Hunger, unemployment, religious intolerance were the unhappy legacy of civil and religious strife. In this sad situation, the Cathedral and canons strove to re-establish high standards of dignity and worship and ministered daily to the seventeenth century dole queue which gathered increasingly at the Cathedral gates.

NAOMI LINNELL,  
(Keeper of Printed Books).

## A LINK WITH LIMBURG

In 1985 the 750th anniversary of the consecration of the Collegiate Church of Saint George was celebrated at Limburg-on-the-Lahn in Germany. The church was raised to cathedral status in 1827 when it became the seat of a new bishop and a new diocese; before then it had belonged to the (arch)diocese of Trier. Canterbury often welcomes visitors from both those cathedral cities, among them groups of high-school pupils whose lively interest and exemplary deportment reflect the quality of the teachers who come with them. In one such group, in July 1985, there was a young man whose face lit up with joy when he discovered that *Murder in the Cathedral* was to be performed in the Crypt while he was still in England; for he himself was to play two leading parts—as a tempter and a knight—in the German version of the play soon to be produced in his home cathedral of Limburg as part of the jubilee celebrations. Elated by this discovery, he rang up his producer, Doctor Heinz Boehlen, who, on immediate impulse and under heroic circumstances, undertook the long road journey with his wife to see the Canterbury performance for himself. They were welcomed by the Dean, the Steward of the Friends and others on the Green Court during the afternoon of Friends' Day, and joined us for tea on the lawn—a “very English event”, as they afterwards described it. Then they saw the superb performance of Eliot's play by Group '81' in the historic setting close to the place of the martyrdom itself.

The writer of this note accepted an invitation to see the German production in Limburg Cathedral in mid-September, and went there bearing a letter of good wishes from our Dean and Chapter to their cathedral community.

To many people Limburg is known only as a transient glimpse of a town of spires and half-timbered buildings seen rising romantically from the valley of the River Lahn when one looks down from the height of a great viaduct on the busy motorway between Frankfurt and Cologne. Some say: “I really must go there one day”. If they do they are unlikely to be disappointed. The core of the small inner city, preserved and restored with infinite care, has a civilised ambience: the busy world of tearing traffic is suddenly out of sight, evident only as a thin veil of distant sound. “Civilised” is the word that comes insistently to mind when you linger there for several days. Perhaps the dominance of the seven-spired “cathedral on the rock”, and the efforts of its bishop and clergy to integrate the life of the cathedral and the city, help to engender and support the serene demeanour of the citizens of all ages which the perceptive visitor can hardly fail to notice. The town obviously has a lively and wholesome trade from which cacophony and the common visual signs of hectic commercial greed seem notably absent.

In 1952, in the Tilemann school at Limburg, Doctor Boehlen founded a theatre group, the *Spielschar Gymnasium Limburg*, which in the following 33 years under his direction has won more than local fame through the quality of its performances by gifted and dedicated amateurs and the comprehensiveness of its repertoire, in which most countries of the world which have produced good playwrights are represented. This article cannot do full justice to the founder's deeply

Christian philosophy and the cultural liberality shown in the wide-ranging international scope of the group's performances. They have established an effective partnership with a corresponding French group in Limburg's twin town of Sainte-Foy Lyon. English works are often performed. In 1970 they gave Marlowe's *Tragical History of Doctor John Faustus* in English (and in 1980 *Urfaust*, the original German version of Goethe's *Faust*, which they repeated in Milan). Shakespeare, whose works are widely known and loved in Germany, has been performed in *As You Like It* (1960), *The Tempest* (1961), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1961, 1976 and 1984), *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1968), *Love's Labour's Lost* (1975) and *The Comedy of Errors* (1981). Poetry presentations from Shakespearian plays were accompanied by the music of Dowland and Purcell. Some of the open-air performances were given in the cobble-stoned courtyard of the medieval castle in a magnificent setting which overlooks the valley and adjoins the apse of the cathedral.

Out of nearly 100 different presentations which the group has undertaken since it started, the one chosen for its silver jubilee in 1977 was a milestone in its history. It was *Mord im Dom*, Rudolf Alexander Schroeder's masterly and sensitive German translation of T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* given in the town hall before an audience of about 1,000 people. The theme of a churchman's struggle against an overweening secular power had a special significance for men and women of the producer's generation which was communicated to and reflected in the total dedication exhibited by the young players, as noticed by the critics and reflected also in the audience's response. The hope was expressed at the time that some day the cathedral authorities might allow it to be performed in the more appropriate setting of the cathedral itself. That hope was realised with the approach of the cathedral's own jubilee celebrations.

*Mord im Dom* was performed in Limburg Cathedral on September 18th, 19th and 20th, 1985; it was repeated in Frankfurt Cathedral a few days later. The Limburg stage was the chancel, the area surrounding the high altar. The auditorium was the nave and its wings on either side; it was filled almost to capacity on each of the three successive nights, and many people stood or sat in the galleries looking down. The cathedral presented both problems and unique opportunities for the producer which the writer tried to assess by attending all three performances.

On the first night it was viewed from a place of honour accorded to the Canterbury guest between the producer and the bishop in the front row. The players were immediately before our eyes; every gesture and movement, every nuance of expression of face or voice could be seen or heard, and the superb diction of the carefully chosen and trained participants, young as most of them were, did justice to the poetry of the German rendering which, in its turn, does justice to the inspiration of Eliot himself. A whole cathedral is a generous setting for a drama. To witness the performance from the position described was a moving experience which, to this observer, clearly vindicated an initially hesitant decision to permit the use of the holy building for the play.



*"Murder in the Cathedral" at Limburg*

On the second night the performance was seen from the back of the nave. Little could be seen of the stage and the players. Excessive amplification was avoided, and although the good diction of the players (necessarily slowed down because of the difficult acoustics) helped, it was hard for anyone to catch the words, especially when heard in a foreign tongue. One could hear and enjoy, of course, the Gregorian choral music sung by men of the Mainz cathedral choir up in the triforium of the apse, with which the performances were interspersed, and this, together with the skilled lighting effects achieved by experts of the Wiesbaden State Theatre, helped to compensate those who could see or hear little of the stage. It is a tribute to the moving quality of the theme and the totality of its presentation that most of the audience sat through the 1½ hour performance without intermission, and yielded considerable final applause.

In the third performance, seen again from the front row, the players, assisted by their indefatigable producer, had obviously got the measure of the building and its problems. By common consent it was a rounded event and, if that were possible, even better than the first.

At an informal and heart-warming farewell ceremony in the home of the producer the writer was handed a 1000 Deutschmark banknote which bears an engraving of Limburg Cathedral; it was part of the proceeds of the cathedral performances which the players wished to share with the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral. In acknowledging this thoughtful and generous gift the Steward, on behalf of the Friends, invited Dr. Boehlen to become an Honorary Member and sent copies of the English edition of *Murder in the Cathedral* for presentation to his players. It is hoped that the link of friendship established between the two cathedrals will be strengthened by many reciprocal visits in the future.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

## THE CANTERBURY BELL

Every morning at 11 o'clock a short service is held at the gates of St. Michael's Chapel, in the south west transept, to commemorate those who gave their lives in two world wars. The service begins with the turning of one page of The Buffs Book of Remembrance, generally by a soldier, active or retired. But the Royal Navy also plays its part: the service is announced by the striking six times ("six bells of the forenoon watch") of the bell of the last H.M.S. *Canterbury*.

Nowadays bells are used in H.M. Ships mainly for ceremonial purposes, but in the days of the last H.M.S. *Canterbury*—and for many centuries before—the use of the bell was firmly utilitarian; for the only way the vast majority of sailors had of knowing the time was in hearing the bell. The bell was struck every half hour through four-hour "watches": for instance one bell was at 8.30 (or 12.30, or 4.30), two bells at 9 o'clock, three bells at 9.30 and so on.

The last H.M.S. *Canterbury* was scrapped in 1934 and her bell was then given to the Cathedral, so that it could continue to be struck daily in memory of those who had given their lives at sea. On June 9th, 1934, a

formal presentation took place at a great Service for Seafarers, broadcast to the Empire on no less than two wavelengths, thereby earning from *The Times* the description "a religious service at present unique". It was in fact the greatest congregation seen at Canterbury since the enthronement of the then Archbishop; the cathedral was packed with county and city dignitaries, with senior officers of the Royal Navy and Merchant Service, with a large Royal Naval contingent and with groups from such bodies as the Lifeboat Service, training ships, Sea Cadets, British Legion, etc. A party of seamen from H.M.S. *Canterbury* carried the bell up the nave and it was then formally handed over to the Dean by the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Bolton Eyres Monsell. The service was held just before 3 o'clock, so that six bells could be rung for the first time at exactly the right moment. The striker of the bell was Admiral Sir Percy Royds, who had been the first Commanding Officer of H.M.S. *Canterbury*.

Thereafter the bell has been struck each day at 11 o'clock. To begin with this was always done by a seafarer: there was a rota of seafarers living in Canterbury, one for each day; but it was the custom that the man on duty would always stand down in favour of a visiting seafarer. Admiral Royds presented a special logbook to be signed by each seafarer on the first occasion of his striking the bell, and the Admiral's own signature is the first one in the log. The log is still kept in St. Michael's chapel, but is now seldom signed.

In 1936 Mrs. Levi presented, in memory of Captain Graham Edwards, who had commanded H.M.S. *Canterbury* for nearly two years up to his death in 1928, a model of the first H.M.S. *Canterbury*. This model was specially made by Mr. Jeffrey Leighton out of teak from the deck planking of the last H.M.S. *Canterbury*, and it is mounted directly above the bell. The first H.M.S. *Canterbury* was a 60-gun fourth rate full-rigged ship of around 1,000 tons, first built at Deptford in 1693, and then re-built at Portsmouth in 1722, and again at Plymouth in 1744 as a 58-gunner. As a fourth rate she was a ship-of-the line, but a fairly small one. She was finally broken up in 1770.

The second, and last, H.M.S. *Canterbury* was a light cruiser of 3,750 tons, built at Clydebank, commissioned in early 1916, and scrapped in 1934. Admiral Royds was her Commanding Officer for the first three years of her life, including her appearance at the Battle of Jutland.

The Royal Navy has had no subsequent *Canterbury*, but there is today an H.M.N.Z.S. *Canterbury*, a Leander class frigate, built for New Zealand on the Clyde in 1971.

At the great Thanksgiving Service after the last war, in July 1946, it was arranged that H.M. King George VI was at the Warriors' Chapel at exactly 12.30, so he rang one bell and duly signed the log. In September 1951 Admiral Sir Percy Royds, now an old and lame man, again visited the Cathedral, struck the bell and signed the log.

The appearance of seafarers to do the ringing is now rare, but still six bells are struck every day at 11 o'clock in memory of "they that go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in great waters".

TEMPEST HAY (Capt. R.N., Retd.)

## ST. ANDREW'S CHAPEL

The extensive and time consuming conservation programme of the various decorative schemes on the vault and the upper parts of St. Andrew's chapel is finally completed. A report in the 1984 *Chronicle* by Deborah Langslow indicated the many processes which were necessary to save the fragile and fragmentary wallpaintings which had survived in the chapel.

By then a start had been made in recording, investigation, removal of unsightly fillings, treatment of mould growth in the north-east corner and consolidation of flaking paint and plaster.

Consolidation by way of injecting a suitable binding medium (*i.e.*, slaked lime plus a small percentage of caseine and PVA) behind flaking particles of the paint layer or—with a filler added—behind loose areas of plaster, also had to accompany the cleaning of centuries old dirt, dust and grime (even soot from the great fire of 1174 could be found in the north-west corner of the vault.)

According to the surface condition and to preliminary tests either wet or dry cleaning was given preference. A wet cleaning with water—and if necessary with the addition of methylated spirit—was achieved with brushes or small sponges or even cotton wool swabs in more delicate areas. For dry cleaning we used specially produced soft silicone sponges which disintegrated to small crumbs when gently rubbing the surface, thus taking the dirt and grime with them.

After the repair of the major cracks and structural faults by masons of the Clerk of Works department, a great number of minor plaster losses had to be filled with limeplaster mixed with the adequate sand as aggregate. But there were also larger areas to replaster as at the north wall where different architectural changes and rebuildings appeared and had to be presented in an understandable and acceptable way, or in the north-east corner of the vault where paintlayer and plaster were completely deteriorated.

Finally, it had to be decided how and to what extent the overall appearance of the fragmentary decoration could be improved by means of retouching.

The existence of several superimposed schemes made a more complete reconstruction—as achieved in the Jesus chapel for example—impossible: which decoration scheme should be given preference?

The first overall scheme is a masonry pattern on the vault and walls, most probably created at the end of the 12th century when the choir was rebuilt after the fire.

It consists of painted red lines on a white limewash imitating a most regular system of masonry: smaller blocks in the vault (the painted joins do not correspond with the real ones at all) and larger blocks with different emblems inserted on the walls. Together with it goes a more elaborate decoration on the architectural elements. On the ribs of the vault runs a black on white dotted line with red flowers and crescents.

*Wall Painting Restoration in St Andrew's Chapel*



Only smaller parts could be revealed for investigation, the rest of it is still covered with the later barberpole. On the arches, where considerable paint has gone it is more difficult to trace the original scheme, though the fragments suggest a masonry pattern alternating red and ochre stones with a lozenge riband alongside.

More is visible from the second decorative phase where most of the first decoration was overpainted, but the layer is often so thin as to allow the first decoration to shine through. Red and black have been used as pigments, the black parts having deteriorated more and the red has darkened to brown. Remarkable is the variety of stencils which had been used to ornate the ribs and arches together with barberpoles, zigzagged and dotted bands. Freehandwork of course includes the vine scroll, the Christian monograms and the Tudor banners. This second scheme must have been executed around 1400 under Prior Chillenden, who had caused new quarters to be provided for the sacristans over the altar of St. Andrew (so a floor was inserted and rather makeshift walls put up, which were only removed in 1872).

A general principle of conservation is to avoid falsification so we restricted ourselves to reintegration of smaller losses of paint to begin with. Watercolours of highest quality were used and these retouchings are completely reversible—which is a further important principle. Some reconstructions were necessary, however, to help with the legibility of a few important figures such as the Christian monograms. The method used to differentiate these retouchings from the original is a sort of pointilistic technique—small dots filling the missing areas, which are easy to spot from a close distance but blend with the original when looked at from further away.

This technique had already proved successful during the restoration of the St. Eustace wallpainting and although the paintings in St. Andrew's chapel are far less narrative, they are rare and important enough to deserve this careful kind of approach. At least a share of former glory may be appreciated again, once the wide view around this chapel is no longer obstructed by scaffolding.

*This work has been financed by a generous grant from The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral.*

*Wall Painting Restoration in St. Andrew's Chapel*



# MINTING AT CANTERBURY

## INCORPORATING CANTERBURY MINT OFFICIALS IN 1334-35

While this information on Canterbury coins is being written for the press no doubt some of you who will read this write up in the *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* will have seen the collection on show in the Crypt Exhibition from 1980 onwards until the Exhibition closed, and also in the Cathedral on the Friends Open Evening on October 1st, 1985, or maybe its permanent home in the Library. After reading this I hope it will shed some light on the subject of minting and how it affected the people who worked directly for the Mint.

### Minting at Canterbury

Anglo-Saxon coinage began at Canterbury and from c. 650-900 it was the principal mint in England, often working for the Kings of Wessex and Mercia as well as those of Kent. At first Canterbury was the only mint issuing pennies in England, and responsibility for each coin could be brought nearer home. Athelstan's decree (c. 924-39) tells us that Canterbury had 7 moneyers (the King 4, the Archbishop 2, the Abbot 1) compared to London's 8 and Winchester's 6. The earliest issues were small gold shillings but these were quickly superseded by silver pennies which, with the possible exception of a few tenth-century halfpennies, were the only denomination to be struck at Canterbury during the first phase of its existence to 1351.

In Henry III's reign, about the year 1247, a new design in coinage was put into practice. This was called Long Cross Coinage, with the reverse cross extended to the outer edge of the coin to try to stop the coins being clipped; this was quite successful and continued into the reigns of Edward I c. 1279.

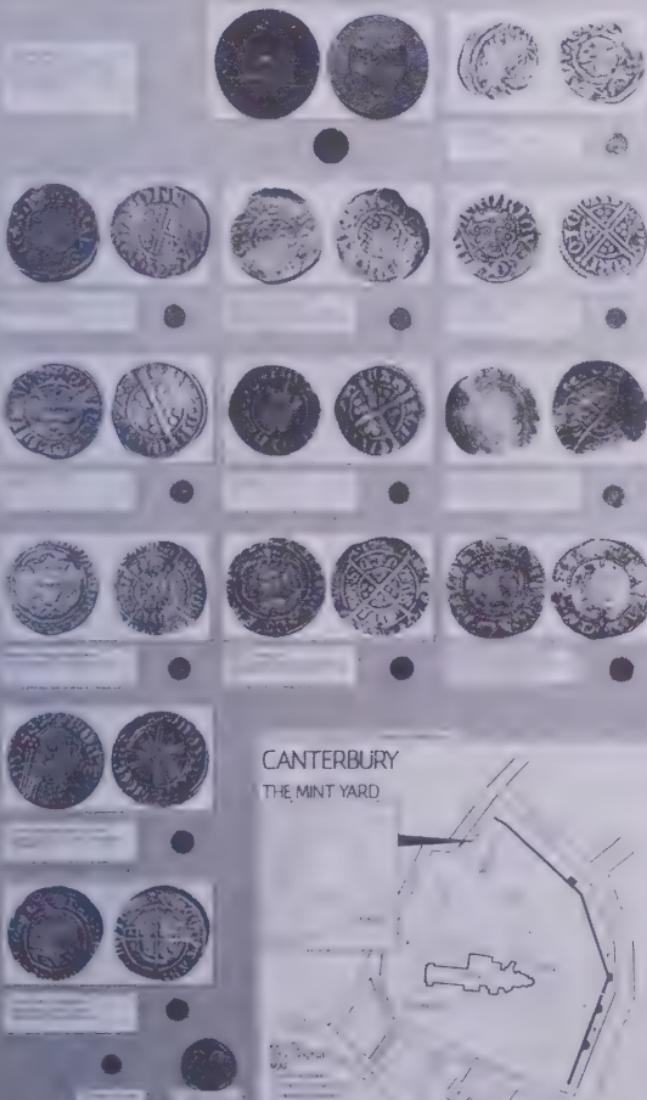
The name of the city in its Roman form "Dorovernia" was used on occasion as a mint signature until the reign of Athelstan, 924-39, thereafter the forms "Caentwara" and later "Cantor" were regularly used.

The Canterbury Mint owed its continued importance in the earlier Middle Ages to the favourable balance of cross-channel trade. This brought large numbers of foreign coins into the country which had to be re-struck into English currency. The Canterbury Mint was closed in 1351 and did not reopen until the reorganisation of minting operations by Edward IV in 1464. During the later medieval period, Canterbury struck a wide range of silver denominations and became the principle mint in the kingdom for halfgroats. The other exceptions to minting the silver pennies and halfgroats were the silver groats in Henry VIII's reign, 1544-47, and the silver shillings for Edward VI in 1549-50.

The Archbishops of Canterbury also enjoyed coinage rights from the earliest times. In the eighth and ninth centuries they issued coins in their own names, but after the death of Plegmund in 914 they coined only in the name of the King. For a time thereafter the Archbishops employed their own moneyers but in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries their coinage rights were commuted to a share in the profits of the Royal Mint in the city. After the resumption of coining in 1464, the

# MINTING AT CANTERBURY

A T T



*The Collection*

issues of the Archbishops were often identified by initials like the half-groat of Henry VIII in the collection, with the initials "T.C." beside the shield, standing for Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, the principal compiler of the Book of Common Prayer in 1548, who lived not far from Canterbury at his Palace at Bekesbourne. The other way was by the use of a personal badge or punning allusion in the small mark at the beginning of the coin legend.

The last coins to be struck at Canterbury were the royal issues of shillings for Edward VI in 1549-50.

### Canterbury Mint Officials in 1334-35

The Kent Lay Subsidy Roll for 1334-35 provides an interesting view of the personnel connected with the Royal Mint Canterbury, the Mint Yard in the Precincts.

The officers, servants and other workmen of the mint were exempted from these national subsidies. The Kent roll lists the exempted men as well as the persons due to pay. In 1334-35 no less than seventy men were exempted, because of their connection with the mint, from the taxes imposed on moveables that year: a fifteenth in rural areas and a tenth in towns and villages. A high number when one remembers that the Canterbury Mint was closed, or at least not working, at the time.

In Canterbury itself only eighteen men were exempted because of the mint connection. Twenty-three were assessed in the Hundred of Westgate, which lies immediately to the west of the city, but only nineteen of them were additional names, as four were also assessed in Canterbury. Other Hundreds contiguous to Canterbury produce a few more assessments, but Felborough Hundred had no less than eighteen such assessments although its nearest point is some distance from the city. Single names appear as far east as the Hundreds of Ringslow and Cornilo, as far west as Key Street and Sheppey, and to the south in Loningborough Hundred. Altogether, sixteen men were assessed in more than one place: two in four places, three in three, and eleven in two places.

Not all inhabitants were assessed. Those with less than the taxable limit were simply not recorded at all, and some ordinary workmen at the mint might well have come into that category in addition to seventy names recorded.

What is particularly significant from the tax returns is the relative wealth of the mint officials. In the city of Canterbury there were 250 assessments, other than the eighteen of the mint. Of these, 124 or almost exactly half, paid less than 3s., but only one of the moneyers was below that level. Half (*i.e.*, nine) of the moneyers were assessed at more than 10s., but only eight, or 3.2 per cent, of the others paid more than 10s. Indeed, eight moneyers were assessed at £1 or more compared with only four of the other citizens. The net result was that the moneyers, only one-fifteenth of the total assessable population, were assessed to and exempted from payment of one-fifth of the total sum due. In the hundred of Westgate, the poorer half of the moneyers were assessed at 5s. or less, while the poorer half of the others paid 3s. 4d. or less.

At the other end of the scale, the richer end, six moneyers (26 per cent) were assessed at more than 10s. compared with eight (less than 9 per cent) of the 91 others, and two of those moneyers were assessed at more than £1 compared with only one of the others: and that the widow of a presumed former mint official.

Exemptions because of the association with the mint were a fifth of the total assessable population, but 30 per cent of the total money; and Widow de Hawe is included with the mint party, the figures would have been 21 per cent of the people and nearly 35 per cent of the money.

In the third large group, those in Felborough hundred, the pattern is similar. Half of the moneyers would have paid 5s. or less, while half of the others paid 3s. or less. The highest rate in this hundred was 13s. 4d. Three of the eighteen moneyers were assessed at this figure, but only one of the 92 others; and that was the manor of Chilham Castle, which gives an expressive indication of comparative wealth. The moneyers were just over one-sixth of the assessable population here, but were exempted from nearly one-quarter of the total payable.

In Bleangate hundred, of the seven moneyers recorded there, three had assessments of more than 15s., while at the 222 others, only another three paid more than 15s.

Downhamford hundred had five moneyers, of whom two would have paid more than 15s., while the other 195 assessments included only three at more than 15s., one of whom was the exempt Master of Ospringe Hospital and another the personally exempt London merchant John de Pulteneye.

None of the other areas had more than three moneyers, and it would not be sensible to compile statistics for such small numbers. Nevertheless, it may be noted that almost all of these scattered people fell in the top half of inhabitants ranked by wealth.

Clearly the men associated with the Canterbury Mint were, in general terms, richer rather than poorer, and one of them was Lapin Roger, who had been connected with the mint in one capacity or another since 1292. It clearly showed that many of the mint officials earlier in the century also held other official positions, or were merchants, as well as serving at the mint.

The privilege of non-taxation was an incentive which helped explain why men were willing to accept mint posts in addition to their other interests. The tie of family relationships was the major factor.

A more cynical view of the Lay subsidy data might suggest, however, that if you were comparatively wealthy a mint appointment, preferably with minimal or no duties, even if unpaid, was one to be sought; and extended where possible to brothers and sons, nephews and cousins. Public duty is a spur to some; allied to self-interest it becomes a very positive attraction.

ROGER DALTON.

# THE LOST ARUNDEL TOWER

Approximately 760 years old, structurally defective, visually incompatible with the surrounding architecture, demolished with Parliament's consent and rebuilt to match a 15th century neighbour.

Improbable? By contemporary conservation philosophies and standards impossible; however, this is what happened to the North West Tower of Canterbury Cathedral in 1834 after a period of more than 100 years of structural problems.

## Lanfranc's Tower

The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at Canterbury was consumed in a great fire on 6th December, 1067. This was only a year after the Conquest, when the Normans were still infiltrating the country and the introduction of stone buildings of the type current on the Continent was just beginning.

Not only was there to be a change in the building at Canterbury but following William's intention to place Normans in every key position in the country, the Archbishopric experienced a change with the ejection of Stigand in 1070 and the appointment of Lanfranc. William saw in this Abbot of St. Etienne at Caen, a strong, highly educated Benedictine monk, who could remodel the English Church both spiritually and architecturally. The rebuilding of the Cathedral was therefore an early example of the Norman influence.

In a relatively short period of seven years, Lanfranc rebuilt the Cathedral. It followed the typical Norman plan of an eastern apse flanked by apsidal ended chapels and had a central tower. Westwards from this was an eight bay Nave, and:

“ . . . two lofty towers with gilded pinnacles terminate this nave or aula.”

It is the northern of these two towers which is the subject of this short paper.

## The form of the Tower up to the 18th century

A comment upon the age of the Tower is given in Somner's *The Antiquities of Canterbury* 1639 when, having described the South West Tower he says:

“ . . . And the opposite one with the lofty spire or shaft covered with lead is the other, and the fame that is said to be of Archbishop Arundell's building and at this day call(ed) by his name. But under correction, with warrant of truth as I conceive, induced thereto partly from the work of the steeple which I hold elder than Arundell's time, by comparing it with the other pieces of that age, and partly by this note in the records of the Church, seeming to me by the Character almost as ancient as the time of Arundell.

‘Pondus quinque companarum in companile Angeli de novo donatarum per Reverend in Christo patrum D.D. Tho. Arundell, Cantuar Archiepiscopum Anno Dom. 1408’.

This note, as you see, calls it Angel, not Arundel steeple, as I suppose it would have done, or as the lest have mentioned him the founder, had he indeed erected it. Besides I meet with Angel-steeple in the Church-records long before Arundell's time, "in the dayes of Henry of Eastry the Prior and by the same name this very Steeple I finde to be called in divers dead mens wills since Arundell's time. Let me but adde that Harpsfield in the *Life of Archbishop Arundel* mentions not this Steeple amongst the rest of his acts of note, and I proceed . . ."

Again, some 230 years later, William Gostling interestingly notes that the structure of the Arundel Steeple "is so utterly different from anything near it" that it had led to various views upon its age. He continues in his book *A walk in and about the City of Canterbury* to give his opinion for the steeple remaining whereas the Oxford Tower had been rebuilt with the Nave at the end of the 14th century:

" . . . It seems rather, that the interruption of Archbishop Sudbury's design happened while this tower was standing; and that the rebuilders judging it capable of such alterations as might make it appear (within side at least) of a piece with their new work, thought it better to take that method than to pull down the whole.

Whether this experiment caused the cracks in the old tower, which required its being strengthened with so much iron work as we see, or whether the unskilful hanging of the heavy Arundel bells made that necessary, does not now appear. I have heard the latter mentioned as the cause of those cracks: whichever it was, the building is much disfigured by them.

Upon this tower was a lofty spire, as it is seen in the old prints of the church; but the terrible November storm of 1703 having done some damage to the leading of it, it was judged necessary to be taken down, and was soon after, as low as to the platform and balcony, which now make the top and finishing of it."

In the 1825 edition of Gostling, a footnote qualifies the last paragraph as follows:

"The very dilapidated state of the tower here mentioned, and the opinion of several eminent surveyors, of its danger, rendered it necessary, a few years ago, to remove the balcony. The fissures from the summit to the base, which are prevented from extending by huge bars of iron, are not of apparent magnitude on the exterior surface, but in many places in the interior they are sufficiently large to introduce a man's arm."

The balcony mentioned appears to be the parapet shown in contemporary engravings. As to the reference to a "lofty" spire, the height is stated elsewhere in Gostling as being 100' 0" on top of the Arundel steeple which he quotes as being also 100' 0" itself.

This is also confirmed in *The History of Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury and the once adjoining Monastery* by Revd. J. Dart 1726 in which the following passage appears:

"At the West-end are two other Steeples, of which that on the North-side is one hundred foot high; it had lately upon it a Leaden-Shaft or Spire, which when standing added to it one hundred feet more of height. This Spire was so endangered by the great storm, that it was thought unsafe to continue, and therefore was taken away in August Anno 1705".

### Following the Great Storm of November 1703

The storm damage referred to by Gostling and Dart is set out in an undated petition from the Dean and Chapter to the Archbishop as follows:

"May it please you<sup>re</sup> Grace,

Whereas the spire Steeple of you<sup>re</sup> Graces Cathedrall & Metropocall Church of Christ Canterbury, standing att the Westend of the said Church hath been viewed by able and skillfull Workmen from London, and the Tower of the said Steeple found to be much shaken, and too weake to bear the Spire now standing thereon, by reason of the vast weight and hight of the same, which should it fall would not only greatly endanger the beating downe the Roofe of the Body of the said Church, but diverse houses standing within the precincts of you<sup>re</sup> Graces Palace.

We the Dean & Chapter of the said Church do humbly intreat you<sup>re</sup> Graces consent and leave to take downe the said Spire which we are assured may prevent the dangers now apprehended: Hereby assuring you<sup>re</sup> Grace that we intend to make good the Tower of the said Steeple as we have opportunity in such manner as shall be found best for the safety and ornament of the said Church.

Geo. Stanhope. Dean.

Jos. M. Del'Angle V.Dean

Tho. Belk

Geo.Thorpe

Jo. Battely

Tho. Nixon

John Adams."

An appended note to this document, dated March 24th, 1704-5, says:

"I do approve of the above said Proposal.

Tho: Cantuar."

No information has been located upon the findings of the "able and skillfull Workmen from London" but it is clear from the accounts that the spire was taken down.

References to the demolition of the Spire:

"1704-5 The whole quantity of lead taken down from ye Spire was 22 Tun 14 hundred 2 pounds and ½".

A further note states that £3.4.0. of lead was used on the Platform, from which it is reasonable to deduce that when the spire was removed a flat roof was substituted which was covered with lead.

## Again, the Plumbery accounts 1705

"Received of Mr. Austin for ½ a tun of lead and odd pounds	£5.10.0.
of ye Plumber for 3 tun of lead	£31.10.0.
<u>of ye Church for a tun of lead</u>	£10.10.0.
	_____
	£47.10.0.

A further reference is contained in the Spire Steeple Debtor—1705

July 20	An 100 Deals from Sandwich	£6. 5.0.
	Carriage and allowance	9.6.
Aug 30	Allowance for carriage of coals to melt ye lead	0. 0.6.
Sept 19	For a chaldron of coals for ye Plumbery	1.13.6.
Nov 28	For 16 yew . . . for scaffolding	1.12.0.
Nov 28	To Caister (Plumber) for casting ye lead	9. 4.9.
	To Bullock & Caister according to contract for taking down ye spire	62. 0.0.
	_____	_____
		£81. 5.3.

## Reasons for the Tower's unstable condition

It is clear from contemporary evidence that during the last hundred or so years of its life the tower was extremely cracked and held together towards the top by heavy iron ties.

The design of the tower generally does not indicate that there were ever buttresses and the interesting "battering" of the corners and the offsetting of the upper tiers would not reconcile with projecting buttresses, which are essentially a gothic development. Stylistically the old tower could be nothing but Romanesque.

That there were buildings up against the Tower and most probably bonded into it, is a fact and these are shown on many contemporary prints. However, it is unlikely that the removal of the alteration of these relatively small buildings could have made much impact upon the stability of the Tower.

What does appear to be one of the most important reasons for this settlement is the poor ground bearing capacity of the site. Although there has been no scientific site investigation carried out in this area, a tradition in the present Works Department has always passed on the information that there is an underground stream passing near the North West corner of the Cathedral. Certainly there is a great increased rising damp problem in the present tower and Thos. Rickman found the lower courses of the old tower also very damp.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in Vol. IV of *Archaeologia Cantiana* 1861, the author of an article on "Roman Cemeteries in Canterbury" writes:

"The subsoil of Canterbury is partly an alluvial deposit and partly bog, such as frequently composes the estuaries of rivers. In digging a new foundation for the Arundel Tower of the Cathedral some few

years since, the bones of a man in an upright position and of two oxen, were exhumed many feet below the surface; some ancient drover perchance, who had perished with his cattle in the bog!"

In theory, therefore, if it is accepted that the ground bearing capacity under the Tower is insufficient, and a rebuilding of the structures to the east and south takes place using foundations which by modern standards are sound and in addition large archways are formed through the east and south walls with their springing based upon new foundations, then it follows logically that any settlement which occurs will be diagonally across towards the north west corner.

It is submitted that basically this is what happened to the Arundel Tower; up to that time probably forces were in reasonable equilibrium until Yevele's Nave propped up the east and south walls in about 1390, allowing a partial overturning moment to occur.

The general dilapidation of the North West Tower continued to concern the Dean & Chapter and so Robert Mylne, Architect was asked to inspect the Cathedral generally and his report dated May 1768 lucidly set out his findings on the Tower:

"In the Arundell or North West Tower of the great front, there are great defects or cracks in the middle of the West and North fronts; but yet, from inspection they appear to be old ones.

They are not so old as the original construction for reasons I shall mention presently; nor yet of late years, for the upper storey, which is of a different taste and design, of better workmanship stands fair and well.

The causes of these defects, I take to be as follows; that the passage into the Archipiscopal Precinct, and from thence round the Corner into the Cloister is too close to the Body of the Tower, that it is in the very place where a Buttress, similar to the other three on the same front, should have stood; and upon inspection of the Work of the Wall on the West and North side, adjoining to that Corner, seem so rugged it could never have been intended, as a fair finish face to the Work. There are now, the remains of the springing of an arch, in the North side, which plainly indicates the further extension of the Work that way. And I am now become positive of this Opinion, because, since these conjectures, I have seen in your old plan of the Cathedral, the very Buttress in question. From thence it would follow, that if the Buttress were restored, and the cracks fairly made good, the Tower would stand well: or, if they are not restored, Tyes of Iron and Woodwork should be put in Diagonalwise at the Floor which was immediately above the one for the ringers to keep the North West corner from parting from the others."

Robert Mylne continues:

"When the defects in the Arundell Tower are made good, and the whole strengthened in the manner above mentioned, the top of it should be finished with Pinnacles of the same design and of the same size of its corresponding Tower, the Oxford one. They would be no great expense as it is at present of an equal height with the Body or square front of it, and would add greatly to the Beauty of the Principall Front and Uniformity of the Building."

In Mylne's notes of 1768 he says:

"in the Arundell Steeple or Tower all of open windows should be done up with spars put close to one another."

Again later in February 1770 Robert Mylne writes:

"The defects in the Arundell Tower remain where they were, and I would strongly recommend the reinstating of the Buttress at the North West corner, as the only remedy. This I think could be easily done, and an Arched passage made throw them to the Cloister; which has been the Cause of Cutting them away."

Other advisors inspected the Cathedral and the North West Tower during the remainder of the 18th century and the following have been noted:

*In 1774* John Harrison reports to the Dean and Chapter generally on the Cathedral, but does not say anything specifically about the North West Tower.

*In 1790* Thos. White carries out repairs to the Tower and renders an account.

*On 22nd November, 1792* Jesse White reports to Chapter:

"... several loads of Rubbish is brought out of the Body, Arches and laid on a wood floor at the Top of the steeple—which is Dangerous and should be removed".

### The state of Cathedral's fabric in first 30 years of 19th century

Undoubtedly at the end of the 18th century, the general state of repair of the Cathedral as a whole was extremely poor and there are numerous references to the start of considerable repairs, e.g.

- (a) The Dean's book for Midsummer 1824 records a sale to raise "£800 to meet extraordinary repairs to Cathedral" and again at the St. Catherine's Audit a sum of £400 for a similarly described purpose. At the same meeting there is a record that Mr. Percy is to enquire if and at what cost stone can be imported from Caen.
- (b) Less than a year later Mr. Lake, the Chapter's Woodreeve & Surveyor, is instructed to negotiate the digging of stone on the Chapter's estate at Great Chart. The stone presumably being Kent ragstone.
- (c) A Donation of £500 from Archbishop of Canterbury towards restoration is acknowledged in St. Catherine's Audit 1826.

The Chapter Minutes of the 1827 St. Catherine's Audit directed that the Works within the Cathedral be placed under the exclusive supervision of the Treasurer, who was not to expend more than £1,000. A note is also made of the Chapter's thanks to the Dean, Dr. Hugh Percy, for the "vast" amount of repairs which he had had executed in "masterly manner unassisted by any Architect or Surveyor . . ." for an "expense small compared with the extent of the works".

Again, on 28th August, 1828, Chapter voted, at a Special meeting, a further £500 for "urgent repairs to the Cloisters and elsewhere". Whilst the St. Catherine's 1828 records that £1,000 was voted for the "expense of the Works in the Cathedral for the year".

## **Repair or Rebuild?**

It is clear that a number of experienced Architects had reported over many years upon the poor structural state of the Tower and so it is interesting to conjecture upon the arguments which the Dean & Chapter had to consider, before deciding upon the action to be taken.

In the present day conservation orientated climate, there would hardly be a choice. The 11th century tower would be repaired by both underpinning of the foundations and by consolidating the fabric of the walls to reinstate their structural strength.

Examination of the background influences, however, show that in the early part of the 19th century the 'wind of change' was about and the rational thought of intelligent men was leading to the new vitality of the Victorian age. The passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 has been sited as a significant point not only politically, but also as the end of a period of change of taste and art appreciation which had been gradually overtaking society since the end of the previous century.

Similarly, the onrush of the industrial prowess of Great Britain culminating in its visual enthusiasm of the Great Exhibition, ran concurrently in the spheres of Ecclesiastical and particularly Cathedral building with the realisation that the 17th and 18th centuries had seen neglect and the vast deterioration of their building stock.

Acceptance of this fact, of course, led to the two big restoration periods of the 1830's and 1870's, when the complete demolition of parts of churches was considered perfectly justified, in order to rebuild, reorder and redecorate to the 'glory of God'. It was therefore in every way natural to rebuild rather than repair.

Although study and research of recent times have led to a more enlightened appreciation of the 19th century, it is yet a fact that, in the fields of Fine and Applied Arts of this period, it is still common to find judgements made which are valid only in relation to our contemporary standards and which ignore the conditions and attitudes prevailing at the time.

Thus, the demolition of the Lanfranc tower, when viewed against the developing abhorrence of the deteriorations of the past, would seem to have been a very natural early 19th century decision. This to be followed by a wish to rebuild, so that the West end resulted in a symmetrical composition, also appears in character.

It is interesting to remember that in 1828, William Howley had become the 88th Primate succeeding Manners Sutton in the Primacy. In these times the Archbishop of Canterbury considered himself very much the 'Bishop' of Canterbury and as such undoubtedly concerned himself in what befell his 'Cathedra'. As his experiences in building matters had been considerable it is reasonable to deduce that not only was Archbishop Howley formally asked for his consent but personally influenced the decisions made which led to the Act of Parliament and the rebuilding of the North West Tower.

## The decision to rebuild the Tower

It would appear that by 1829 the Dean & chapter had quite decided that a very large restoration programme was inevitable and on the 25th May, 1829 had sought permission from the Commissioners of Customs to import Caen stone free of duty.

However, by Midsummer 1829 the financial situation was so serious that at the St. Catherine's Audit, Chapter recorded "that it is highly expedient that the Repairs and restorations be continued". However, Chapter funds were exhausted and the sales of timber were inadequate to provide funds to carry out repairs which would now have to include the rebuilding of the Arundel Tower. It was therefore decided to borrow monies on the security of the Woods enough for "the complete Repair and Restoration of the Cathedral, the Cloisters, the Chapter House and the Library".

As to raising this money, it was decided to adopt the same provisions as the Archbishop of Canterbury's earlier bill for the repairs to Lambeth Palace. This decision was therefore minuted as follows:

"That, a general estimate having been obtained of the sum necessary for the above purposes, the sum of £20,000 be borrowed in the first instance with the power to borrow £5,000 in addition if necessary".

This was followed with the resolution that the Dean, Vice-Dean, Treasurer and Receiver were authorised "to proceed as early as possible" to achieve this end.

At this time the Surveyor, Mr. Hepper, resigned and in recognition of his past services was given an annuity of £100. His replacement was Mr. George Austin whose appointment commanded a salary of £163.16s.0d. per annum with a further £25 for a house and £12 Aqua sum Custos.

By the midsummer of 1829 and in order to prepare for the work to the Arundel Tower, the Receiver was instructed to negotiate with a Mr. Monins for the Tenancy of his house, which was contiguous with the Tower and in the way of possible works.

By the same token in 1830 Chapter minutes record:

"As it will be required by Parliament that an Architect or Surveyor be called in to assist our own Surveyor in reporting the state of the Tower and making his estimate previous to the commencement of the building it is resolved that Mr. Thos. Rickman, Architect, be the person called in by the Chapter for that purpose."

The following notes appear in Rickman's Workbooks:

The first reference to Canterbury Cathedral appears on the 7th June, 1828, when he meets a Mr. Sutton, one of the "6 Preachers at Canterbury". It is not known whether this is introduction to the troubles of the North West Tower or some other occasion. However, the next entry is definite.

3.10.28 "... at Blighfield and with the Dean and Archdeacon Croft abt the Arundell Tower and its condition."

- 4.10.28 "At Blithfield and to . . . and ordered by the Dean to meet Archdeacon Croft at Canterbury on 31st to make an minute Survey and report on the Arundel Tower."

There does not appear to be an entry for the 31st but later the following meeting is recorded:

- 5.11.28 Examine the Cathedral and interior of Arundell Tower—  
The Screen west of the Choir, inner door groin and stair by  
De Estria but the outer part evidently an addition by Prior  
Goldstone 2nd, having various features harmonising with  
his other works and the corbel of lower door clearly  
decorated as is the back of the moulding but the front is  
perpendicular and evidently cut out of the same stone.

Arundell Tower shattered the upper part on every side with large cracks and the lower 20 feet of the Staircase which outerly was . . . the greatest pressure is the Weakest part, many stairs at the bottom being broken and the Newell much injured part supported by Wood and a wedge in that wood was thrown out by a late gale of wind showing the great effect of the wind on the Tower, the stone in parts is much perished and seems crushing. The cracks are every side and particularly about this weak staircase. There are ties above both Wood and Iron which hold the upper part together but do not counteract the worst parts which are all below the Groining and the work of perp. date under the Tower is weakest just by the Staircase."

Approximately a year later, Rickman is again concerned with giving an opinion upon the Tower.

- 6.10.29 With Dr. Spry and Geo. Austin.

" . . . Examined the Cloisters, Chapter House, Crypt of the Cathedral and went outside of the Arundel Tower found the cracks on all sides and the weak staircase had had some part of another building cut away from it—There are some crackt stones quite low down in the staircase and lower courses perishing.

The bottom is unprotected from defilement which is bad both from perishing the stone and damping the ground—From the additions made when the Nave was built being now firm work the cracks throw the weight of the Tower on this weak corner in which the only addition is the Shafts carrying the Groins which are utterly inadequate to support the weight of the Tower when it is thrown more on this angle by the Stairs giving way and if the Tower falls it is so tied together at the Top that it will come down in a Mass and perhaps do considerable damage to the adjacent parts. To remedy this the best things would be to take the upper part of the Tower off and thus ease the weight on the whole and then if (possible) fill up and grout the lower part of the Staircase this might preserve the Tower for some years."

At this point in his workbook, Thomas Rickman produces a calculation of the weight which would be saved if a portion of the Tower was taken down.

"Arundel Tower	average of sides sides	30 ft. 4
	measure all round	120
Height to be taken off, say		40
	Superficial walling	4,800
Average thickness full		2 ft.
	Say 1 cwt per ft	9,600
add for wood and lead		400
		20)10,000
		500

Total weight to be taken off abt 500 tons."

It is interesting to note that Rickman obviously makes an inaccurate assessment that the average thickness of the walls is 2 ft. Even at the highest tier the wall panels can be scaled from Buckler's drawings to be just over 2 ft. in thickness and the buttressing and corners are considerably thicker. At the level to which Rickman recommends the Tower to be demolished, the wall thickness appears to be 5' 6". On these figures Rickman could certainly have improved his argument by over 50%.

Thomas Rickman does not appear to be involved again until December 1829, when the following entries are made and it is clear that he is carrying out the "expert witness" role in support of the Act to be submitted to Parliament.

- "3.12.29 To Canterbury. D&C 22 (hours).
  - 4.12.29 With Dr. Spry about survey. D&C 3 (hours).
  - 5.12.29 At the Audit with the Chapter and with Austin about Prices and making a survey of Cathedral as to the points to be supported in the Committees of Parl—examining the Arundel Tower now much worse (than) at the last visit several portions having fallen.
- Measuring the Chichele Tower and examining it as to construction and arrangement examining Cloisters, Chapter House, Library and the Roof of the Transept in order to see what repairs must be done. D&C 8 (hours)."

On the facing page of Rickman's workbook there is a dimensioned sketch plan marked Chichele Tower. There are also a series of heights given in a table which appear to refer to the S.W. Tower. However, the dimensions on the sketch plan do not relate to those of the present tower and one is left with the feeling that Rickman, having familiarised himself with the S.W. Tower, was perhaps sketching the possibilities of rebuilding the Arundel Tower.

He continues his notes:

"A portion of Abp Palace must be taken down and rebuilt say abt 500£. Westfront will require very strong framing and ties to keep them together and the two eastern piers will require to be carefully secured, the Groining must come down but some of the Ribs may perhaps be reset.

It would be wise to build the new Tower with a view to put the bells in it as some vibration appears to have opened the joints of the Groining, *i.e.*, of the Chichele Tower probably from ringing the bells which are to (10) heavy ones very badly hung and would be better if hung double in a new frame."

These last comments are of contemporary interest since the re-ordering of the Bells recently carried out formed a double frame for the ring, brought down lower in the S.W. Tower and the transference of Great Dunstan and the Clock bells to the N.W. Tower. These moves have, apart from generally improving the quality of the ring, reduced the lever arm and moment caused by ringing bells in the S.W. Tower and restored some bells to their historic position in the N.W. Tower. Thomas Rickman proceeds with notes upon the implications of rebuilding the Tower as follows:

"From the quantities of old walling about and the great Map of the base of the Arundel Tower, it will most likely be the best way to make a grout foundation of great size to build upon—from the danger there is of disturbing the lofty work of the Nave & Aisles by digging against them."

- 4.10.30 "From Birmingham to London at Burdess and the House of Lords and with Dr. Spry and affirmed to give evidence. D & C 24 (hours).
- 2.12.30 Estimate for rebuilding Tower Canterbury Cathedral 3 (hours).
- 3.12.30 Estimate for rebuilding Tower. D. & Chap 3 (hours).
- 2. 2.31 From Birmingham to London and at Mr. Burdess & Dr. Spry's and afterwards with Austin at Mr. Burdess and to go to Sergeants Inn tomorrow morning. Canterbury Cathedral 19 (hours).
- 3. 2.31 At Sergeants Inn before Pattison with Austin Mr. Star and Burdess and Maynard—to be at Committee of Lords in abt 3 wks and with Dr. Spry. Canterbury Cathedral 3 (hours).
- 2. 3.31 From Birmingham to London and at the House and with J. Burdess and at Dr. Spry's. Canterbury Cathedral 24 (hours).

It would appear that although Geo. Austin has always been credited with the design and building of the N.W. Tower, it is clear that Thos. Rickman was closely involved with the rebuilding even if only in a consultative manner and there is a note in his workbook dated 6.10.31, that he is concerned with arranging for import of stone to Canterbury.

However, Rickman's association with the Cathedral continues and the following reference appears in the Treasurer's accounts for 1830-31 when there is a further payment for services in connection with the North West Tower—

October 22nd	'Messrs Rickman and Hutchinson for Parliamentary Attendance	£151.19.0
--------------	--	-----------

and again in the 1831-32 accounts:

April 6th	'Tho. Rickman, Architect, for drawing for the Stalls	£65.0.0
	Edward Blore, Architect, ditto	£65.0.0

It is not known what Blore's improvement can have been but it was unlikely that he was working in association with Rickman, since he was very well established and was about to be given the commission of completing Nash's refurbishment of Buckingham House. It is more likely in view of the same fee that the Dean & Chapter commissioned a design for the stalls from both these Architects.

### The rebuilding of the Tower

Researches into the demolition and rebuilding of the North West Tower have produced little detail. For a relatively modern rebuilding in an important Cathedral, it is strange that there is a dearth of information.

Whereas, we have read of the extremely poor structural state of the Cathedral as a whole and the Arundel tower in particular, of the measures taken to alleviate the problems, of the recommendations of influential advisors and the means taken to raise the funds to rebuild the Tower, the matter then enters the realms of anticlimax since nothing can be traced relating to the actual demolition and rebuilding.

The information which one would expect to find is detail related to the taking down of the Tower, the stacking of used materials and the ordering of new stone and timber for the new structure. Following this, one would anticipate there would be records of the cost of materials and labour of the actual rebuilding. In addition hopefully, there would be full accounts showing how the mortgage progressed, whether the fund was over or under subscribed, whether the rebuilding was within the estimated amount being raised and information relative to what repayments were made, when and to whom.

Of all this there appears to be only minor references in the Cathedral Archives, particularly in those most likely sources such as the Treasurer's and Receiver's Accounts.

The Accounts of John Hume Spry, Treasurer dated 1830-31 make one relevant reference under 'Extraordinary Receipts':

November 25th	'From Arundel Tower Account. Money advanced to pay Rickman Bill . . . £151.19.0.
---------------	--

This is a cross reference to the item referred to in the main account but does disclose the fact that there was an 'Arundel Tower Account'. It can reasonably be inferred that this account was for the payment of the new

works to the Tower from the monies raised by mortgage. This account cannot be located.

The only other items which refer specifically to the Tower work are in the year 1831-32 when the Audit account reads:

<i>June Audit</i>	Tower wages	£720.14.0½
	Weekly bills	19. 5.2
<i>November Audit</i>	Tower wages	£447. 2.6
	Weekly bills	8. 0.8

There are no accounts relating to the purchase of stone and other materials or further transactions, and it must be concluded that the total accounting for the demolition of the old and the erection of the new Tower was dealt with through the Arundel Tower Account which was kept separate from the Cathedral accounts. Since there is no further evidence of this account, it may be that when the costs of the completed work were established and paid for (possibly within the £20,000-£25,000 as estimated) the account was considered to be balanced and the records destroyed in the course of time.

However, the details of the Mortgages and the methods and periods of repayment would have been recorded in some form and would not, it is considered, have been disposed of lightly. It is possible therefore that further research aimed at uncovering these details may prove fruitful but is unlikely to tell us much about the practical problems.

### **What does an examination of the present Tower reveal of Lanfranc's building?**

Since archival material is not available to tell us what Rickman & Austin proposed and executed in the rebuilding, resort to an examination of the present Tower, although not exhaustive, does produce certain useful information.

When the Nave and North Aisle were reformed on the demolition of the Romanesque structures, Henry Yevele cut into the south and east walls of the Norman tower to insert the new arches of the Nave. Above these, however, relieving arches were formed. These can be seen on the inside of the Tower whilst standing on the vaulting above St. Augustine's Chapel. On the Nave side of the south wall, of course, ashlar covers any sign of the relieving arch. However, on the east side of the Tower's east wall, now in the North Aisle roof space, the remains of the Lanfranc arch, capital and shaft are visible. This arch is in a similar position to the one shown above the 14th century vaulting on the west wall. Below this round-headed arch is the later pointed relieving arch.

The 19th century rebuilding of the inner face of the Tower was carried out in stone and flint chequer work. This extends to the full height of the Tower and is characteristic of other work carried out at this time elsewhere in the Cathedral Precincts.

The portion of the east wall of Lanfranc's Tower which was left and incorporated into the new Tower can also be seen externally in the South East corner pier which abuts the Nave Clerestorey. At the bottom is an iron tie which passes through the wall in an east/west direction and is then bolted to a substantial timber tie. The first of these show the iron straps bolted to the timber ties. This is undoubtedly part of the ironwork referred to by Gostling and Mylne.

The Tower was built internally with Kent ragstone corbels and plates bearing on same. The purpose of these was to provide a bearing for two floors but these appear not to have been provided until the present time. The Clock, clock bells and Great Dunstan have currently been transferred to the North West Tower and two floors have been formed for this purpose.

### **Subsequent History of the Tower**

The Tower was said to have been completed by 1841 but there is no significant information to corroborate this.

Twenty years later, however, the eminent Architect Ewan Christian was reporting upon the condition of the various parts of the Cathedral and of the North West Tower he says:

"The ancient Norman North West Tower having become ruinous, it was taken down in 1834 and the present Tower erected in its stead. Decay has already commenced in the Stone at the base and other points of the Tower, but it has not yet proceeded so far as to be incapable of remedy by external application which ought nevertheless to be speedily applied. The two floors of this Tower have not yet been put in and the roof being covered with zinc and the conducting rain water pipes made of the same material reparations must ere long be needed. As there are no Bells, the erection of floors is not a necessity and I have not considered them in my estimate."

Christian in his beautifully scripted report then assesses the cost of repairs to the Tower at £94.00.

### **Current condition**

Generally, the exterior of the Tower exhibits the considerable repairs to ashlar of the 1860s and 1870s. These results stem from the current shortcomings of labour and the paucity of the stone used. The majority of similar work appears to have been carried out by local tradesmen paid by the Surveyor direct and therefore no descriptive records can be located.

Apart from the poor quality of the stone used, considerable problems are currently found in the form of large voids behind the ashlar. These have been created by the masons in 19th century restorations, taking out stones, cutting off, say, 4"-6" of eroded surface and rebuilding, leaving the corresponding space between the ashlar and the core.

The pinnacles, parapets and weatherings to the buttresses are now in Doulting stone and were restored by W. D. Caroe in about 1908.

The condition of the Doulting is now very 'sugary' and suffers from having been laid with Portland Cement mortar and interior grouting. This situation renders the pointing stronger than the stone.

The present repairs are being executed with the aid of pre-Caroe photographs. These indicate the conjectural detailing performed in the 1908 work. The omission of some of these features which were clearly additions, has, therefore, been possible.

The repairs are being carried out in the French limestone called Le Pine which weathers very rapidly to a good match for Caen. Due to the impossibility of reusing the Doulting stone features and their replacement with Le Pine, an added bonus is achieved, in that, except for the four pinnacles to the Tower, the whole will appear in the same material as was originally intended.

PETER D. MARSH, Dipl.Cons.(A.A.), F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A.  
Surveyor to the Fabric.



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE  
NUMBER 80 APRIL 1986

Published by The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral,  
Cathedral House, 11 The Precincts, Canterbury. Telephone 472727  
Printed by The Canterbury Printers Ltd.,  
Hall Place, Harbledown, Canterbury



The Friends  
of  
Canterbury  
Cathedral

Chronicle Supplement 1986

# FRIENDS' EVENTS 1986

## FRIENDS' DAY - Sunday 20th July

11.00 a.m.	Sung Eucharist and Sermon	Quire
12.45 p.m.	Luncheon (Tickets @ £3.75 per head) Marquee on the Green Court	
2.15 p.m.	Annual Meeting	Quire
3.15 p.m.	Festal Evensong	Quire
4.15 p.m.	Tea (Tickets £1.50)	Marquee
5.00 p.m.	'The Mystery of Canterbury Cathedral' Lecture by Ian Haines	

Members may wish to make a note of the following Canterbury Events during the next few months:

## KING'S SCHOOL WEEK 10th - 16th JULY (Programme from the Secretary, King's School)

### OTHER CATHEDRAL EVENTS

May	3rd	Marcel Dupre Centenary Recital. Dr. Allan Wicks	18.45	CUT HERE
June	7th	London Philharmonic Choir. Beethoven - Missa Solemnis	19.30	
July	12th	Canterbury Choral Society. Beethoven 9th Symphony	19.30	
July	29th -	Chaucer Festival.		
August	3rd			
July	30th -	The Mystery Plays	19.00 &	
August	13th		19.45	
August	28th	City Festival Opening Service.		

### TICKET ORDER FORM FOR FRIENDS DAY 1986

FRIENDS' DAY - 20th JULY		Price per Ticket	Number Required	.....
Ticket for Meeting and/or Services	FREE			PLEASE APPLY FOR ALL TICKETS BEFORE 20TH JUNE
Luncheon Ticket	£3.75	.....		
Tea Ticket	£1.50	.....		
'Mystery of Canterbury Cathedral' Ticket	FREE	.....		
Inclusive Day Ticket	£5.00			

I enclose cheque/cash/P. Order for total price of £ .....  
Please return this form to The Friends' Office. Cathedral House,  
11 The Precincts, Canterbury, Kent. CT1 2EH  
WE CAN ONLY RETURN YOUR TICKETS TO YOU IF YOU ENCLOSE A STAMPED  
SELF ADDRESSED ENVELOPE.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....



GTU Library



3 2400 00268 1736

BX  
5195  
C3  
A12  
no.76-  
80  
1982-

Canterbury  
Cathedral  
chronicle

BX  
5195  
C3  
A12  
no.76-  
80  
1982-  
1986

**Flora Lamson Hewlett Library  
Graduate Theological Union**

**2400 Ridge Road  
Berkeley, CA 94709**

DEMCO

